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AMARAVATI
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

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DOUGLAS BARRETT

*Assistant Keeper in the Department of
Oriental Antiquities*

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PUBLISHED BY
THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM
LONDON
1954

MUNSHI RAM MANOHAR LAL
Original & Foreign Book-Sellers
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Received from Mr. Munshi Prem N. Lal Delhi on 15-1-59 for Rs. 16-00-00

PREFACE

THE sculptures which are the subject of this monograph rank with the Elgin marbles and the Assyrian reliefs among the great possessions of the Museum: they form the only major series of early Indian sculpture outside India, yet they have never been the subject of an official publication. There are reasons for this: the first that when they became the property of the Trustees in 1880 they had recently been accorded a full treatment by one of the leading authorities of the day, James Fergusson, in *Tree and Serpent Worship* (1st ed. 1868, 2nd ed. 1873). Moreover, in 1887 Dr Burgess, who had been investigating the site, wrote another substantial account for the Archaeological Survey of India, in which the Stūpa and its decoration, by then better represented in the Madras Museum, were reconsidered. In these two books practically every piece in the Museum collection was adequately reproduced; they could be cited from them conveniently, as they have been in every book on Indian art that has since appeared. Moreover, the dignified and conspicuous position assigned to the sculptures on the Main Staircase of the Museum, where they were attached to the wall behind an immense glass-fronted box, prevented the taking of improved photographs or the handling of the sculptures.

In this century the study of Indian archaeology, history, epigraphy and numismatics has progressed so far that the old works are out of date, and the subject is ripe for fresh treatment. The Amarāvati sculptures now preserved in the Madras Museum were studied afresh in a full scale catalogue by Dr C. Sivaramamurti, in a volume published in 1942. In it the author has treated at length the subject matter of these sculptures, both the iconography and the incidental features, dress, weapons, jewellery and musical instruments, and has in general noted and analysed all the evidence they contain for life in the Andhradeśa under the Sātavāhanas. In this part of his volume he naturally refers to the British Museum sculptures, and it has not been judged useful to study this material again from that point of view.

On the other hand, there is still considerable difference of opinion on the form of the Stūpa, and the chronology of its decoration, and consequently on the stylistic development to be seen in the sculptures; in which is also involved their relation with other monuments. These questions have consequently been treated in full, and Mr Barrett has been at pains to put forward clearly all the facts bearing on the history of

the monument, which can be derived from the sculptures themselves or from the records of the exploration of the site, from the time of its rediscovery by Colonel Colin Mackenzie in 1797. In connection with these studies he paid a special visit to India in the cold weather of 1951-2, during which he visited the site of the Stūpa, and studied all the sculpture in Amarāvati style in India, as well as all the Sātavāhana sites in the North-West Deccan.

He wishes to express his thanks to the many scholars with whom he has discussed the problems of this chronology; especially Dr N. P. Chakravarti, O.B.E., Dr S. Paranavitana, C.B.E., Dr L. D. Barnett, C.B., Dr J. Allan, C.B., Dr A. L. Basham and Colonel D. H. Gordon, D.S.O. His chief debt is to Dr C. Sivaramamurti and Dr F. H. Gravely, late Superintendent of the Government Museum, Madras, who have given him every possible assistance, while studying the sculptures and preparing this publication. The conclusions which the author has reached on the history of the Sātavāhanas and the chronology of the sculptures may be modified by future discoveries through excavation or numismatic research; but the account of the monument and the sculpture now in the Museum is securely documented and will stand. It is regrettable that there is so little in Buddhist literature to throw light on the special features of cult represented by them, but it is hardly possible that this gap will ever be filled. The inscriptions on the sculptures have been recorded in the catalogue with references to their publication; but they have not been studied anew because Dr N. P. Chakravarti has lately completed a fresh edition of this material which will be published shortly. Mr Barrett is confident that no revision of his chronology will be called for by the amendments there proposed.

The illustrations have been made from fresh photographs especially taken for the Trustees for the purpose by Mr J. Skeel. The map has been drawn for the book by Mr C. O. Waterhouse, the plan of the site by Mr Michael Ricketts.

March, 1954

BASIL GRAY
Keeper of Oriental Antiquities

ABBREVIATIONS

A.R.A.S.I.	<i>Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports.</i>
Burgess, 1882.	James Burgess: <i>Notes on the Amarāvati Stupa. Archaeological Survey of Southern India, No. 3.</i> Madras, 1882.
Burgess, 1887.	James Burgess: <i>The Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvati and Jaggayyapeta.</i> London, 1887.
Fergusson, 1873.	James Fergusson: <i>Tree and Serpent Worship.</i> 2nd Edition. London, 1873.
Lüders.	H. Lüders: 'A list of Brahmi inscriptions from the earliest times to about A.D. 400.' <i>Epigraphia Indica</i> , Vol. x, 1909-10.
Mackenzie.	A. W. Franks: <i>List of Drawings from the Amarāvati Tope, Southern India, made for Colonel C. Mackenzie.</i> Westminster, 1881.
M.A.S.I.	<i>Archaeological Survey of India, Memoirs.</i>
Rea, 1894.	A. Rea: <i>South Indian Buddhist Antiquities. Archaeological Survey of India, N.I.S., Vol. xv.</i> Madras, 1894.
Sewell, 1880.	Robert Sewell: <i>Report on the Amarāvati Tope.</i> London, 1880.
Sivaramamurti, 1942.	C. Sivaramamurti: <i>Amarāvati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum.</i> Madras, 1942.
Tripe.	Captain L. Tripe: <i>Photographs of the Elliot Marbles and other subjects in the Central Museum, Madras.</i> 1858-9.

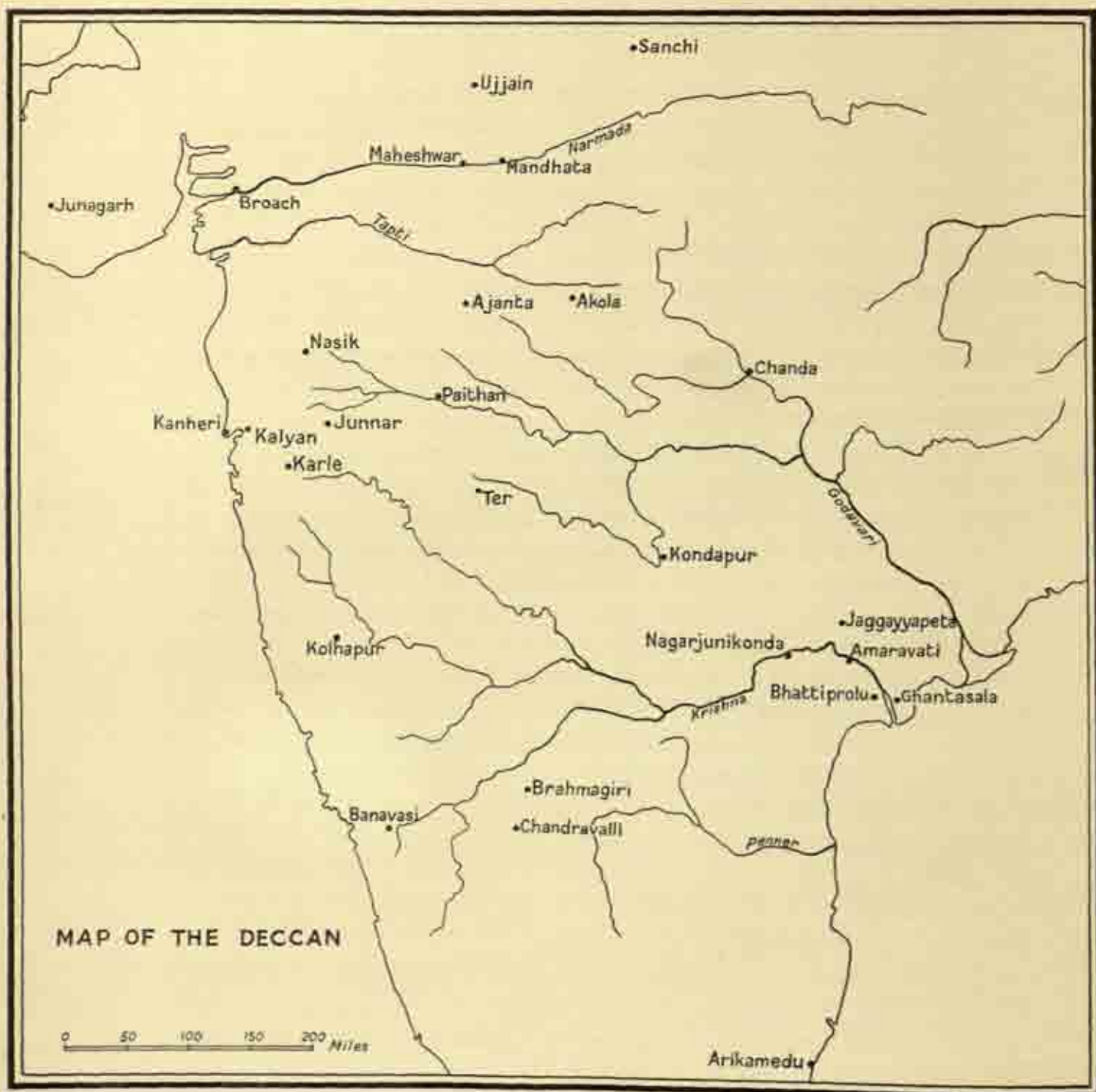


Fig. 1

The Early History of the Deccan

It is not yet possible to give a definitive account of the early history of the Deccan. The literary sources are fragmentary and obscure, the archaeological investigation of the area too recent an undertaking for any interpretation of the small material available to be more than tentative, and the present resources of epigraphy inadequate to date an inscription with a closer accuracy than a century or more. The present brief account is therefore confined, as far as possible, to those events and problems which materially affect the interpretation and chronology of the Amarāvati sculptures. Excavation, especially at Amarāvati itself, may change in detail, or, indeed, radically, the view presented here. This seems however to be supported by such general results as archaeology has already achieved.¹

The literary sources² suggest that before the 6th century B.C. the Aryans had crossed the Vindhya and established themselves firmly in the northern Deccan. The southward movement from the valleys of the Jumna and the Ganges probably ran through the state of Avanti, whose capitals were Ujjayinī (modern Ujjain) and Māhishmatī (either modern Māndhātā or Maheshwar), and across the Narmadā to the country around Pratiśthāna (modern Paithan). Three states are mentioned; Vidarbha (modern Berār), Āśmaka, perhaps the country round Nāsik, and Mūlaka, perhaps the district of Paithan. The great Dandaka forest, which covered a large part of modern Mahārāshtra, tended to limit further expansion to the south. Beyond the Aryans lay non-Aryan (*dasyu*) tribes. Towards the end of the 4th century B.C. the many states of North India found unity under the Maurya dynasty. It is uncertain whether it was Chandra-gupta, the founder of the dynasty, or his son Bindusāra, who extended the Maurya Empire deep into South India. But the third king of the line, Aśoka the Great (c. 273–236 B.C.) who was himself responsible only for the annexation of Kalinga (modern Puri and Ganjām Districts), has left permanent record of his faith and ideals in the rock-cut Edicts which are found at several sites in the Deccan and as far south as Brahmagiri in northern Mysore.³ Though one of Aśoka's viceroys controlled the

1. An assessment of recent work may be found in Col. D. H. Gordon, 'The Early Use of Metals in India and Pakistan', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LXXX, 1930.

2. They are summarized by H. C. Raychandhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th ed., Calcutta, 1938, pp. 73–127.

3. The southern provinces of the Maurya Empire are discussed by N. P. Chakravarti, 'The Minor Rock Edicts of Aśoka and some Connected Problems', *Ancient India*, No. 4, 1947–8.

South from Suvarṇagiri, the site of which is unidentified, no archaeological evidence of the presence of the Mauryas, apart from the Edicts, has yet been discovered south of the Vindhya. It seems that the Maurya conquest was as fruitless as it was brief, and left undisturbed the cultural pattern of the peoples to the south of the Aryan settlements. Excavation at Brahmagiri, the site of three groups of the minor Rock Edicts and of the ancient town of Isila, has shown that the local inhabitants were in a comparatively lowly stage of culture, using microliths, ground and polished stone axes and a little metal. It was probably about 200 B.C., when the weakness of the Mauryas loosened their hold on the South, that Brahmagiri was overrun by a megalith-building people with elaborate iron equipment. The archaeological evidence, such as it is, suggests that in the following two centuries this people, which had been established in South India some time before the middle of the first millennium B.C., continued its expansion northwards, until it was halted by a dynasty which had lately imposed its power on the Aryan states of the northern Deccan. The history of this dynasty forms the main subject of this chapter.

There are several quite different theories of the origin, direction of expansion and chronology of this dynasty, which is known in the Purāṇas as Andhra or Andhrabhyritya, in all other literary sources and in its inscriptions as belonging to the Sātavāhana⁴ kula or family. One theory identifies the original home of the Andhras with the country between the mouths of the rivers Krishnā and Godāvarī, which is now known as Andhradeśa and, as early as the 4th century A.D., as Andhrāpatha. The main objection to this theory, which has to assume that the dynasty extended its power across India to the north-west Deccan at the very beginning of its history, is that no evidence of the presence of the Sātavāhanas before the 2nd century A.D. has yet been discovered in the Andhradeśa. Some scholars, however, deny any connexion between the Sātavāhana family and the Andhra tribe, and place the home of the former either in the Bellary region or in Berār. According to this theory the Sātavāhanas are called Andhra by the compilers of the Purāṇas because the remnant of their dwindling power was confined to the Andhradeśa. Bellary, it is true, appears to be referred to as the Sātavāhanīya province, but in inscriptions no earlier than the 2nd century A.D. Berār's candidature rests on little more than the fact that a hoard of Sātavāhana coins was found at Tarhāla in the Akola district of the Central Provinces.

A third theory, the one followed here, accepts the Sātavāhanas as the ruling family of the Andhras, and places the original home of both in the north-west Deccan. According to this theory the Andhradeśa is so called because it was the last province

⁴ There are several variants of this name, but Sātavāhana will be the form used here.

which remained to the Sātavāhanas before their final extinction as a great power.⁵ The evidence for this theory is strong. The earliest reference to the Andhras, in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*,⁶ mentions them together with several other non-Aryan tribes as living on the borders of Aryan occupation. Included by Aśoka (Edict XIII) among the tribes living in the King's territory though not perhaps under his direct rule, they seem to be mentioned along with the Bhojas who lived in Vidarbha.⁷ It is not without significance that the Aśmaka and Mūlaka countries, already mentioned, are referred to in a literary source of the 5th century A.D. as Andhaka (Andhra) Kingdoms. There can be little question that the origin of the power of the Sātavāhanas themselves was in the north-west Deccan. The inscriptions of the early members of the family are found at Nāsik and Nānāghāt. The famous Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela places the Kingdom of Sātakarni, who is generally accepted as an early Sātavāhana, to the west, not to the south, of Kalinga. This same Sātakarni is called in the Nānāghāt inscription of Nāyanikā 'lord of Dakṣhināpatha'. In this context the term 'Dakṣhināpatha' almost certainly means the north and west Deccan. Jain legends associate the Sātavāhanas with Pratiṣṭhāna on the upper reaches of the Godāvarī, and Ptolemy refers to Baithana (Paithan) as the capital of Siro-Ptolemaios, who is Śrī Pulumāvi, a famous Sātavāhana.⁸ All Sātavāhana inscriptions are in Prākṛit, a product of the north. Their coins, too, have northern characteristics. It is important that of twenty-four Sātavāhana inscriptions containing regal names only four are found in the east, the remainder in the west. Finally, whatever theory is accepted, the point to be emphasized is that the first king, whose inscriptions and coins are found in the Andhradeśa, is Śrī Pulumāvi, who comes late in the Purāṇic list of kings, and whom no scholar would place earlier than the 2nd century A.D. Thus it seems fair to assume that the Andhras were a Vindhyan people, who, under the Sātavāhana family, extended their power south and east.

The chronology of the Sātavāhanas is no less difficult than the geography. The manuscripts of the Purāṇas seem to contain two divergent traditions. The Vāyu Purāṇa gives seventeen to nineteen kings who ruled for about three hundred years, the Matsya Purāṇa thirty kings who ruled for about four hundred and fifty years. There is little difference of opinion as to the date of the end of Sātavāhana rule:

5. The first and third of these theories are reconciled by K. Gopalachari (*Early History of the Andhra Country*, University of Madras, 1941, pp. 25-7) by considering the Sātavāhanas as Andhra adventurers who laid the foundation of their people's power in the north-west Deccan, only returning to their homeland (Andhradeśa) in the 2nd century A.D.

6. Composed before 300 B.C., though the chapter in which the Andhras are mentioned may be later.

7. The Bhojas and the Ratnukas (Edict V) are the ancestors of the Mahābhojas and Mahārathis, who were feudatories of the Sātavāhanas.

8. Ptolemy's notice naturally refers only to the 2nd century A.D.

almost all scholars are agreed that it took place sometime in the second quarter of the 3rd century A.D. There is, however, agreement on little else. Generally speaking, a long or a short chronology may be adopted according as the three hundred or four hundred and fifty years duration of Sātavāhana rule is accepted.⁹ The inscription of queen Nāyanikā at Nānāghāt contains the names of her husband King Sātakarni and the latter's father, King Simuka Sātavāhana. Simuka is undoubtedly the first Andhra king, whose name is variously spelt in the Purānas as Sisuka, Sipraka or Sindliuka, and Sātakarni is generally accepted as the king mentioned in the Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela. The older school of epigraphers dated both these inscriptions to the first half of the 2nd century B.C., and consequently the beginning of Sātavāhana rule to the second half of the 3rd century B.C.¹⁰ More recently, epigraphers have preferred a date some one hundred and fifty years later.¹¹ This view is supported by a general statement in the Purānas that Simuka, the first of the Andhras, will obtain the earth, having destroyed Suśarman the Kānva and the remnants of Śunga power. This would place Simuka's victory and the rise of the Sātavāhanas about 30 B.C.¹² This is the date accepted here. According to this theory the Purānic tradition which gives the fuller list of kings and the long chronology has included the names and reigns of rulers of minor branches of the Sātavāhana family.

Little is known of Simuka, the first of the line. Though he is said to have destroyed the Kānvas and Śungas, there is, as yet, no evidence that he occupied their territory. He is said to have ruled for twenty-three years, and would thus have died some time in the last quarter of the 1st century B.C. He was succeeded by his brother Krishna, who has been identified with the King Kanha of the Sātavāhana-kula in an inscription in a cave at Nāsik. According to the Purānas Krishna ruled for eighteen years. The third king of the line was Sātakarni, who was probably the son of Simuka, though the Purānas call him the son of Krishna. It seems to have been Sātakarni, who made the Sātavāhanas into a great power. If he is the Sātakarni mentioned in the Hāthīgumphā inscription, the eastern boundary of his territory marched with that of Kalinga. The 'Sāta' coins of Mālwa fabric suggest that he crossed the Vindhya and conquered

9. The critical version of the Purānas is, however, not yet, and manipulation of the figures given in the various manuscripts is, as critically remarked by Loom de la Vallée-Poussin, a child's game.

10. E. Gopalachari, *op. cit.*, still gives ready support to the early dating.

11. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, University of Calcutta, 1931, pp. 206-14, and B. M. Barua, 'Khāravela as King and Builder,' *Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. XV, 1947.

12. The Maurya dynasty, founded about 324 B.C., lasted for one hundred and thirty-seven years, and was followed by the Śungas, who ruled for one hundred and twelve years and in their turn were supplanted by the Kānvas, who ruled for forty-five years. Some scholars prefer to include the period of Kānva rule within the one hundred and twelve years allotted to the Śungas, thus placing Simuka's victory fifty-five years earlier than the date favoured here.

much of the state of Avanti. A votive inscription on the south *torana* of Stūpa I at Sānchi records the name of Vāsishthīputra Ānanda, foreman of the artisans of King Sātakarni. This may indicate that Ākara (eastern Mālwa) belonged to the Sātavāhanas.¹³ Sātakarni's capital seems to have been Paithan. He performed the Aśva-medha sacrifice, possibly twice. In a cave at the head of the Nānāghāt are the remains of a series of portrait statues of Sātakarni and members of his family.¹⁴ At his side stood his wife Nāyanikā, the daughter of a Mahārathi chieftain. It was this matrimonial alliance which ensured Sātavāhana power in the Deccan. Sātakarni ruled for ten, eighteen or perhaps fifty-six years. At his death Nāyanikā acted as regent during the minority of the princes Veditri and Saktitri. The latter may be Śakti-Kumāra, son of Sātavāhana of Pratishthāna, noted in Jain literature.

Sātakarni is separated from Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarni, the greatest of his line, by a period of two or three generations.¹⁵ Of the many kings mentioned in the Purāṇas there is no evidence from inscriptions or coins,¹⁶ though two are known from literary sources. The author of the Kāmasūtra mentions the royal lover Kuntala Sātakarni, whose wife fell victim to his virtuosity; and the king Hāla is said to have been the author of the Gāthāsaptasatī, a collection of erotic verse. Both probably belonged to a cadet branch of the Sātavāhanas, which ruled in Kuntala (modern Kanarese districts), though probably not before the 2nd century A.D. Further light, however, is thrown on this period by two passages in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*.¹⁷ One (chapter 41) mentions the port of Barygaza (modern Broach) and the coast of the country of Ariaca, possibly the ancient Aparānta (modern northern Konkan), which was the beginning of the territory of Namibanus. The second (chapter 52) records that Calliena (modern Kalyān) became a lawful market-town in the time of the elder Saragatus (probably Sātakarni), but since it came into the possession of Sandanes the port was much obstructed, the Greek ships landing there risked being taken to Barygaza under guard. Both passages record the struggle between the Sātavāhanas and another power for possession of the ports which controlled the lucrative trade with the Roman Empire. The rivals of the Sātavāhanas were the Kshaharātas, a Scythian family, which had probably entered Sind from Eastern Persia by the beginning of our era. They

13. This does not, of course, necessarily follow. Moreover, the Sātakarni of the Sanchi inscription may be Sātakarni II, who is said to have reigned for fifty-six years. The Vāyu Purāṇa does not seem to distinguish the two monarchs.

14. Unfortunately only the feet have survived.

15. For the supporters of the long chronology this period is, of course, much longer - over two hundred years.

16. Apilaka is a possible exception: numismatists have dated the large copper coin of this king found in the Central Provinces before and after Gautamīputra with equal confidence.

17. The interpretation given here of these difficult passages follows that of J. A. B. Palmer, 'The Identification of Ptolemy's Owinga,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, December, 1946.

called themselves Kshatrapas, and may have been, nominally at least, the subordinates of the great Kushān Emperors. Two members of the family are known, Bhūmaka and Nahapāna. The latter, the Nambanus of the passage quoted above, controlled a large territory, including Kāthiāwār, Gujarāt and parts of Rajputāna and Mālwa. He, or one of his predecessors,¹⁸ even attacked the Sātavāhanas at the heart of their possessions. The inscriptions of his *amātya* (minister) and of his son-in-law, Ushavadāta, are found at Junnar, Nāsik and Kārle. He thus controlled the three passes which, leading from the Deccan tableland and the great centres of Pratihāna and Tagara (modern Ter), fed the coastal ports, especially Calliena. The reaction of the Sātavāhanas to this threat to their prosperity and, indeed, to their existence, was immediate and, for the moment, decisive. The last recorded date of Nahapāna is A.D. 125.¹⁹ A Nāsik inscription of the 18th year of Gautamīputra, issued from a 'camp of victory' at Benākataka in the Govardhana (Nāsik) district, records the grant of some land which had belonged to Ushavadāta.²⁰ A vast hoard of silver coins found near Jogalthembhi in the Nāsik district consists of coins of Nahapāna and his coins restruck by Gautamīputra. Finally, in a famous Nāsik inscription of his mother Gautamī Balaśrī, Gautamīputra is 'he who destroyed the Śakas (Scythians), Yavanas (Greeks) and Pahlavas (Parthians) and, having rooted out the Kshaharātas, restored the glory of the Sātavāhana family'. If his victory took place in or about his 18th regnal year, which will be closely equivalent to A.D. 125, then Gautamīputra came to the throne about A.D. 106. The latest epigraphic record of his reign is dated in his 24th regnal year: it is therefore assumed that he died about A.D. 130. According to Balaśrī's eulogy of her son, Gautamīputra's territory included Ākara and Avanti (east and west Mālwa), Anūpa (the country round Māndhātā or Maheshwar on the Narmadā), Surāshtra (Kāthiāwār), Kukura (some part of Rajputāna), Āsmaka (Nāsik district) and Aparānta (northern Konkan). These regions he took from Nahapāna. He also controlled Vidarbha (Berār) and, of course, his ancestral land of Mūlaka with Paithan as the capital. Claims are made for some sort of ascendancy over the whole of India south of the Vindhya, but they are probably rhetorical. However, the one region which Gautamīputra does not seem to have claimed is the Andhradeśa.

The period of Sātavāhana ascendancy north of the Deccan was, however, brief. Even before Gautamīputra's death, a new enemy had appeared. This was the Kārda-

18. The Sandanes of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, though probably a Scythian, is unidentified.

19. His known dates cover the period A.D. 119 to 125. It is assumed that Nahapāna used the Śaka Era of A.D. 78. A different view – there are many – is held by K. Gopalachari, *op. cit.*, pp. 51–59, who, however, admits that little time separates Nahapāna and Gautamīputra. He places the accession of the latter twenty-four years earlier than the date given here.

20. The view of D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 191 n, that there is no mention of the city of Vijayanti, is here accepted.

maka family, also of Śaka or Scythian origin, which, according to the inscriptions found at Andhau in Kachecha (Cutch), was established in that region by A.D. 130. At that date the Mahākshatrapa Chashtana was ruling jointly with his grandson Rudradāman as Kshatrapa. By A.D. 150, the date of the great inscription at Junāgarh in Surāshtra, Rudradāman had become Mahākshatrapa, had gained control of Ākara, Avanti, Anūpa, and Aparānta, and had twice defeated Sātakarni, the lord of Dakshināpatha, but did not destroy him on account of their near relationship. The expansion of the Kārdamakas to the west from Cutch must have taken place during Chashtana's lifetime, for Ptolemy, who was roughly contemporary with these events, gives Ozene (Ujjain) as the capital of Tiastenes (Chashtana). Ptolemy also mentions Baithana (Paithan) as the capital of Siro-Ptolemaios. This latter monarch is Vāsishthīputra Śrī Pulumāvi, the son of Gautamīputra. According to the Purānas, Pulumāvi ruled for twenty-eight years;²¹ it is therefore assumed that his reign lasted from A.D. 130 to about A.D. 158. The identity of the Sātakarni whom Rudradāman claimed to have defeated is much disputed. An inscription at Kānheri represents a Vāsishthīputra Śrī Sātakarni as the husband of a daughter of the Mahākshatrapa Rudra (Rudradāman). This Vāsishthīputra, who was probably a co-uterine brother of Pulumāvi, can hardly have been the lord of Dakshināpatha defeated by the Mahākshatrapa, since he could not have come to the throne for at least four years after the date of the Junāgarh inscription. Some scholars consider the defeated Sātakarni to be none other than the great Gautamīputra himself. To accept this view we must believe that Queen Balaśrī made a parade of her son's achievements, in the nineteenth year of her less successful grandson's reign, with full knowledge that most of her son's conquests had been lost to him in his lifetime. Though no theory is without difficulties, it seems best to accept Pulumāvi himself as the Sātavāhana king who lost the northern provinces to the Kārdamakas and, though twice defeated, was spared because his brother was married to Rudradāman's daughter. Pulumāvi retained the heads of the passes leading to the coast, and there was possibly an arrangement by which Rudradāman allowed his son-in-law to enjoy the governorship of Aparānta under his suzerainty. The northern provinces were not however vital to Pulumāvi's interests, for it was probably during his reign or perhaps a little earlier, that Sātavāhana power was extended eastwards across the Deccan to the Andhradeśa and south to the Bellary region. The archaeology of the central Deccan has not yet been placed on a chronological basis precise enough to show how rapidly this expansion was effected,²² but

21. The evidence of inscriptions shows that he ruled for at least twenty-four years.

22. Nothing as yet found at Kondāpur seems earlier than the 2nd century A.D., except perhaps a unique coin of 'Sātavāhana', on which it is better to reserve judgement. (M. G. Dikshit, 'Some Beads from Kondāpur,' *Hyderabad*

Pulumāvi's inscription on the Stūpa at Amarāvati and the discovery of his coins in the Andhradeśa and further south at least demonstrate that he consolidated Sātavāhana power on the east coast. Amarāvati (ancient Dhānyakataka) probably became a provincial capital, and, from now on, there is continuous evidence from inscriptions and coins of the presence of the Sātavāhanas in the Andhradeśa. Another contemporary of Pulumāvi, according to Ptolemy, was Baleokuros of Hippokura. Hippokura has been identified with Kolhāpur and Baleokuros with one of a group of three rulers of that area, two of whom bore the name Vilivāyakura. They may have formed a minor branch of the Sātavāhanas. Further south lay Vaijyantī (modern Banavāsi), the capital of Kuntala, with which Kuntala Sātakarni and Hāla, who may be one and the same person, are associated in literature.

It would be well at this point to assess the archaeological evidence which may seem at variance with the chronology proposed here. Wheeler has dated the beginning of his 'Andhra' culture at Chandravalli in Northern Mysore to about the middle of the 1st century A.D. or a little later.²³ His evidence, however, merely shows that the beginning of the 'Andhra' culture at Chandravalli is not likely to be earlier than about A.D. 50. How much later it may be depends on the interpretation of the very few fragments of 'rouletted ware' found in layers 9 and 10 of his section Ch. 43, and of the coins of a ruler, Sadakana Kalalāya Mahārathi, found in layers 7, 8, 9 and probably 10. In dating these coins Wheeler allows himself a margin of some one hundred and fifty years.²⁴ Their reverse type and fabric, however, relate them to the large lead coins of the rulers Mudānanda and Chutukadānanda,²⁵ who are not likely to be much earlier than the second half of the 2nd century A.D. It is therefore legitimate to argue that on the evidence of the coins, layers 9 and probably 10 cannot be earlier than the first half of the 2nd century A.D. As for the 'rouletted ware', all that can be said at the moment is that it seems to date the layer, in which it is found, somewhere between the beginning of our era and A.D. 200.²⁶ Wheeler concludes: 'This dating

Archaeological Series, No. 16, Hyderabad, 1952.) Coins of Gautamīputra, Pulumāvi, Śiva Śrī and Yajña Śrī have been found at Kondāpur. (G. Yazdani, 'Excavations at Kondāpur, an Andhra Town,' *Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, xxxi, 1941.) Numerous sites in the Central Deccan have already been discovered, and await scientific investigation.

23. R. E. M. Wheeler, 'Brahmagiri and Chandravalli 1947,' *Ancient India*, No. 4, 1947-8, p. 200.

24. R. E. M. Wheeler, *op. cit.*, pp. 288-9 - 'assignable to a pre-Pulumāvi period, though not in any case, it seems, earlier than c. 50, B.C.'. Wheeler accepts Pulumāvi's dates as about A.D. 131 to 155.

25. This opinion is generally held. (N. P. Chakravarti, *op. cit.*, p. 21.) It is, if the coin evidence has any validity, supported by Wheeler's dig, since in layers 5 and 6 of Ch. 43 were found coins of Yajña Śrī Sātakarni, whom Wheeler and the writer place in the last quarter of the 2nd century A.D. A coin of Chutukadānanda was found in Pit A of the same section. A coin of Pulumāvi was found in another section, Ch. 45, but does not help the argument.

26. This is the accepted chronology at Arikamedu, though the lower limit is admittedly conjectural. It is not yet known whether other centres made this ware, or how long the production continued.

(about the middle of the 1st century A.D. for the beginning of the "Andhra" culture) is on historical grounds sufficiently probable; the period seems to have been one in which the Sātavāhana power in the Andhradeśa was in the ascendant.²⁷ This implies that in the first half of the 1st century A.D. the Sātavāhanas moved south-westwards from the Andhradeśa. It has already been stated that there is no evidence, archaeological or otherwise, for the presence of the Sātavāhanas in the Andhradeśa before the reign of Pulumāvi, which is dated here and by Wheeler in the second quarter of the 2nd century A.D. In fact, the history of the Andhradeśa before the arrival of the Sātavāhanas is almost a complete blank. The iron-using people from the South seems to have occupied this region, perhaps in the 2nd century B.C., and probably remained in possession until the beginning of our era or later.²⁸ A relic-casket found in the stūpa at Bhattiprolu (Guntūr district) is inscribed with the name of a King Kubiraka, of whom nothing is known.²⁹ Khāravēla, the ruler of Kalinga, claimed to have destroyed the city of Pithuda, which was probably situated in the neighbourhood of Masulipatam. The *Periplus Maris Erythraei* makes a brief reference to the Andhradeśa, drawing attention to the region of Mesalia (Masulipatam), which was famous for its muslins.³⁰ Ptolemy's information is, however, much more detailed. In the region of Masulipatam, called by Ptolemy Maesolia, merchants visited the towns of Contacossyla (Ghantaśāla) and Alosygni; near the latter place ships bound for the Malay Peninsula left the coast. The capital of the Maesoloi was Pitura or Pityndra. Ptolemy was writing about the middle of the 2nd century A.D., and it is fair to assume that his greater knowledge of the region reflects an increase in trade, due to the controlled exploitation of what was probably a 'backward area' by the Sātavāhanas and their merchants. It seems then that the results of archaeology do not controvert the geographical and chronological assumptions on which this account of the Sātavāhanas is based.³⁰

Pulumāvi's successor, according to the Purāṇas, was Śiva Śrī Sātakarni, who ruled for seven years (A.D. 159-166). He is without doubt the Vāsishthīputra Śiva Śrī

27. A small stūpa at Amarāvati was built over an urn-field.

28. He may not even have been a ruler of the Andhradeśa: a relic-casket can travel far. The Bhattiprolu inscriptions are usually dated to about 200 B.C. D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 215 ff. has proposed a date 'not much earlier than 100 A.C.'. N. P. Chakravarti, *Ancient India*, No. 2, July, 1946, p. 109, considers the graffiti on potsherds found at Arikamedu which seem to belong to the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D., closely comparable to the Brāhmī of the Bhattiprolu inscriptions. The date of the relic-caskets, whatever it is, does not of course date the stūpa, which is here placed in the 2nd century A.D.

29. If the chronology accepted here is correct, the composition of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* cannot be earlier than Nahapāna.

30. The use of the term 'Andhra Culture' for a type of pottery which is frequently found in association with Sātavāhana coins is however best avoided. It might be thought to imply that the early Sātavāhanas were established in the Andhradeśa. Even if it does not, it pre-supposes a relationship between the pottery and the Sātavāhanas which is as yet uncertain. It would be less contentious and more scientific to describe the 'culture' by a term which referred simply to the technique of the pottery.

Sātakarni, of coins found in the Krishnā and Godāvarī Districts. He may have been the son-in-law of Rudradāman already mentioned. Śiva Śrī was followed by Śivas-kanda, who is also said to have reigned for seven years (A.D. 167-174). Śivaskanda is most probably the Sivamaka Sada of an inscription on the great rail of the Amarāvati Stūpa. Nothing more is known of this monarch. He was succeeded by Yajna Śrī Sātakarni, who ruled for twenty-nine years (A.D. 175-203) and seems to have been the last of the great kings of his line. His inscriptions are found at Kānherī, Nāsik and Chinna Ganjam in the Krishnā District. He thus seems to have regained Aparānta from the successors of Rudradāman. His coins cover a great area: they have been found in Kāthiāwār, Baroda, northern Konkan, Berār, the Chanda District of the Central Provinces, and the Krishnā and Godāvarī districts. His silver coins closely imitate the silver issues of Rudradāman. Those found on the east coast bear the figure of a ship, which perhaps indicates the great commercial interests of the Sātavāhanas during this period.

At the death of Yajna Śrī Sātakarni the Sātavāhana empire seems suddenly to have disintegrated. Vijaya, Chandra Śrī and Pulumāvi are mentioned by some of the Purānas as successors of Yajna Śrī Sātakarni. They remain little more than names. Vijaya may be the Vijaya Sātakarni whose name probably appears on a few of the coins in the Tarhāla hoard; Chandra Śrī has been identified with Chada Sāta of an inscription at Kodavali in the Godāvarī District, and with the Chada Sāti of coins from the same region; and Pulumāvi may be the Śrī Pulumāvi of the Sātavāhanakula, in the eighth year of whose reign is dated an inscription from Myākadoni (Bellary District). It is unlikely that any of these kings controlled all the territories of the earlier Sātavāhana empire. In the 3rd century A.D. various dynasties, including the Ābhīras and the Bodhis, are found in possession of the north-west Deccan. A branch of the Sātavāhana family seems to have retained Berār and part of the Central Provinces until late in the century, when it was supplanted by the Vākātaka dynasty. By the second quarter of the 3rd century A.D. Kuntala was lost to the Chutu dynasty and the Andhradeśa to the Ikshvākus. Though by the end of the century both regions had passed into the hands of the Pallavas, the three generations of Ikshvāku kings command our attention because they, or rather their womenfolk, were patrons of art, as munificent as their predecessors, the Sātavāhanas. Their capital, Nāgārjunikonda, promises to be as rich in remains as Amarāvati itself.

Bibliographical Note: An admirable summary of the period may be found in D. C. Sircar's chapters (XII-XIV) in *The History and Culture of the Indian People - The Age of Imperial Unity*, Ed. R. C. Majumdar, Bombay, 1931. H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th ed. Calcutta, 1938, is also invaluable. These books may be read together with K. Gopālachari, *Early History of the Andhra Country*, University of Madras, 1941, who puts the best case for the long chronology and is especially convincing in his account of the later Sātavāhanas. All three books contain rich bibliographies.

The Discovery of the Amarāvati Stūpa

THE modern town of Amarāvati, largely a creation of the end of the 18th century, is situated in Guntūr district on the right or south bank of the river Krishnā. About half a mile to the west of Amarāvati lies the small town of Dharanikota, of which nothing remains, except the massive earthen embankments which surround its four sides, to show that it was once, under its ancient name of Dhānyakataka, the provincial capital of the Sātavāhanas. A little to the south of Amarāvati lies the site of the Great Stūpa, which in the 2nd century A.D. was by far the finest monument in the Buddhist world. It is now a circle of debris enclosing a few broken pillars and the course of a small stream.

The history of the Stūpa from its days of splendour to its re-discovery at the end of the 18th century is soon told. Though Buddhism ceased to be the dominant religion in the Andhradeśa after the 4th century A.D., it found no lack of support, even from some of the kings of the ephemeral dynasties which succeeded the Ikshvākus. When the Chinese pilgrim, Hsüan Tsang, travelled through the country in the first half of the 7th century A.D., he found that, though many Buddhist monasteries were deserted, twenty were still in use with a thousand brethren, adherents for the most part of the Mahāsaṅghika sect. It is difficult to recognize Dhānyakataka¹ from the pilgrim's description of T'ê-na-ka-che-ka: in any case he does not mention the Stūpa. That Dhānyakataka remained a Buddhist centre of considerable vitality is evident from the finds of two groups of bronze figures of the Buddha and of several stone figures of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas of 6th to 11th century date.² No doubt the Stūpa was kept in continuous repair,³ for an inscription, dated A.D. 1182, on a pillar in the Amareśvara temple at Amarāvati mentions gifts 'to the lofty stūpa of the Buddha, which is finely decorated with various sculptures.' A second inscription, dated A.D. 1234, on the same pillar speaks of another grant to the Buddha, 'who is pleased to reside at Śrī-Dhānyakataka.'⁴ The latest reference to the Buddhist shrines at Dhānyakataka is in the

1. Or, indeed, Berwāda, which has been suggested as an alternative.

2. Douglas Barrett, 'The Later School of Amarāvati and its Influences,' *Art and Letters*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2, 1954.

3. An unusual renovation is that on a slab at Madras (Burgess, 1887, Pl. XI, 2), where the body of the adoring Nāga on the right has broken away – a common occurrence, since the sculptures are carved against the bedding of the stone – and has been recut in *intaglio* in the late Pallava period.

4. E. Hultzsch, 'Two Pillar Inscriptions at Amarāvati,' *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 6, 1900-1.

rock-inscription, dated A.D. 1344, at Gadālādeniya, Kandy District, of the famous Sinhalese divine, Dharmmakirtti, who repaired a two-storied image-house at the site,⁵ thus maintaining that intimate connexion between Ceylon and the Andhradeśa which had begun at Nāgārjunikonda in the 3rd century A.D. From the 14th to the end of the 18th century, though the place is frequently mentioned in local inscriptions, nothing more is heard of the Buddhist monuments at Dhānayaṭaka.

In 1796 a local Zemindar decided to change his residence to Amarāvati and to found a new city about the Amareśvara temple. The many mounds in the area proved admirable quarries for building material. The Zemindar began to attack the Hill of Lamps, the local name of the Great Stūpa, which after centuries of neglect the jungle had partially reclaimed. By good fortune, the discovery of sculptured slabs came to the ears of Colonel Colin Mackenzie, later to be Surveyor General of India.⁶ Mackenzie, a passionate collector and student of antiquity, paid a brief visit to Amarāvati in 1797. He perceived immediately that the great, low mound, crowned by a smaller one some ninety feet in diameter and twenty feet high, and cased with bricks and slabs of stone, was the remains of a great monument. Campaigning and survey duties occupied Mackenzie until March 1816, when he returned to Amarāvati with his draughtsmen and assistants. He himself left in August, but his men stayed on until March, 1818, making careful drawings and plans of the monument, which had further disintegrated since his first visit, for the Zemindar had started to construct a tank in the top of the mound. Mackenzie published the results of his investigations in two important papers which will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.⁷ His manuscript volume of plans and drawings is now preserved in the Library of the Commonwealth Relations Office.⁸ In a note pasted into the volume and dated 7 April 1817, Mackenzie writes: 'Including the inscription eleven stones of Depauldina (the Hill of Lamps) were delivered into the charge of Major Cotgrave at Masulapatam, of which number seven have been sent round to Calcutta. The remaining four; two of

5. S. Paratavita, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*. Vol. IV, Pt. 2, 1935.

6. This precursor of General Cunningham, who also belonged to the Royal Corps of Engineers, has at last found his biographer. W. C. Mackenzie's *Colonel Colin Mackenzie* (Edinburgh and London, 1932) is an admirable act of piety, but for our purposes a *Hamlet* without the Prince, for Amarāvati receives but one passing notice.

7. *Asiatic Researches*. Vol. IX, 1807, and *Asiatic Journal*. Vol. XV, 1823. Relevant extracts from these and other papers of Mackenzie may be found in R. Sewell, 1880.

8. H. H. Wilson. *Descriptive Catalogue of Mackenzie Collection*. Calcutta, 1828, p. cccxxiii, 9. Most of the plans and drawings have been published by Fergusson, 1873, Sewell, 1880, and Burgess, 1887. W. A. Franks privately published in 1881 a List of Drawings from the Amarāvati Tope. It is sometimes said that there were two other copies of Mackenzie's volume of drawings, in Calcutta and Madras. There was in fact one. It was borrowed from the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Elliot in 1846, and submitted by him to the Governor of Madras in 1854. It has not been heard of since. (Letter of Elliot to Governor, Fort St George, dated 23 November 1854. Commonwealth Relations Office, Record Department. Board's Collections No. 172.608.)

which consist of pillars with lions and figures numbered in my sketch 3 and 4, of loose stones a circular stone with beautiful sculptures No 55, and the large inscription stone, a fac-simile of which was sent some time during last year.' The sentence ends abruptly. A letter to Cotgrave dated 6 September 1819, and now in the British Museum,⁹ acknowledges receipt of the remaining four at Calcutta. Of the eleven sculptures, Mackenzie presented two to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, whence they were later transferred to the Indian Museum, Calcutta.¹⁰ The remaining nine pieces were sent to London, probably soon after Mackenzie's death in 1821, to the East India Company's Museum at East India House, Leadenhall Street.¹¹ Mackenzie also had a number of sculptures removed to Masulipatam. These were added to in 1830 by a Mr Robertson and used to decorate the square of a new market-place. Thirty-three slabs, set up in a circle, were seen by Dr Benza in 1835. They soon found their way into the garden of a Mr Alexander, who had a taste for such things.

In 1845 the site was visited by Sir Walter Elliot. It had now become simply 'a rounded mound or hillock, with a hollow or depression at the summit, but without a vestige or indication of an architectural structure, or even a fragment of wrought stone, to show that a building had once stood there, every fragment of former excavations having been carried away and burnt into lime.' Elliot dug into the south-west part of the mound¹² and recovered a large number of fragments which he had sent down to Madras, where they lay neglected and exposed until 1856, when Edward Balfour, the officer-in-charge of the newly created Government Museum, requested the Rev William Taylor to publish a description of them. Taylor lists seventy-nine pieces, of which two had already gone astray, and adds thirty-seven pieces, which arrived from Masulipatam in April/May 1856.¹³ Seven more pieces had been added to the collec-

9. MS. Add. 9868.

10. J. Anderson, *Catalogue and Handbook of the Archaeological Collection in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, 1883*. Pt. 1, pp. 196-7.

11. It is assumed that Mackenzie's two notices of an inscription refer to the same inscription. If, as Sewell thought, he was referring to the large and small inscriptions published by J. Prinsep, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VI, 1837, then it must be admitted that the small inscription has gone astray and, that, since only eight pieces could have been sent to England, Catalogue Nos. 85 and 42 are the inner and outer face of the same cross-bar. There is, however, no evidence that the small inscription was sent to Calcutta, for Prinsep worked from the copy made by Mackenzie's draughtsmen in the duplicate volume of plans and drawings, then in Calcutta. On this, as on many other points of detail, we can but echo Mackenzie's old commander, the Duke of Wellington, at a trying moment during the siege of Badajoz: 'Oh! that old Mackenzie were here'.

12. Or north-west. One of the lions (Catalogue Nos. 47-8) and the column fragments (Catalogue No. 14) were probably found at the north gate. Elliot lost his notes, and never published his excavations. A short account is given in his letter referred to in Note 8. Later he seems to have given conflicting accounts to Fergusson and Sewell.

13. Taylor's report, in which the statistical information alone is of any value, was published in *Selections from the Records of the Madras Government*. No. xxxix. *Report on the Government Central Museum for 1855-6*. Madras, 1857. The figures given here refer to Amarāvati sculptures only.

tion, when it was photographed at Madras by Captain Tripe, the Government photographer.¹⁴ Elliot himself was largely responsible for getting the additional forty-four pieces, comprising those extracted – with difficulty – from Mr Alexander¹⁵ and a number recently dug out from the mound by the Head Assistant Collector of Guntūr, sent down to Madras.

In 1859 these sculptures, one hundred and twenty-one in number, which it was decided should be called the Elliot Marbles in recognition of that gentleman's efforts on their behalf, were sent to London. They arrived in 1860 and remained for twelve months at Beale's Wharf, Southwark. It was the period of the dissolution of the East India Company and the creation of the India Office. East India House was being demolished and there was no place for the reception of the sculptures. In 1861 they were moved to the coach-house of Fife House, Whitehall, which was now used to house the India Museum. Two or three of the finest pieces were attached to the outer wall of Fife House, and suffered disastrously in consequence. The collection remained unnoticed until, in January 1867, it was 'discovered' by James Fergusson, one of the first to appreciate the intention and qualities of Indian art. In 1867 he wrote a brief account of the Amarāvati Stūpa, utilizing Mackenzie's drawings and papers,¹⁶ and in the following year published his *Tree and Serpent Worship*, which contained photographs of most of the Amarāvati sculptures in England and an attempted reconstruction of the monument. In 1869 the India Museum was moved to the newly erected India Office; the sculptures were probably held at the India Stores, Belvedere Road, Lambeth. In December of 1874 the Commissioners of the 1851 Exhibition leased the Eastern Galleries in South Kensington to the India Office to house the India Museum. It was opened in 1875 and the Amarāvati sculptures were arranged in the Sculpture Court at the South Entrance, probably by Fergusson.¹⁷ This was the first time the sculptures, apart from the Mackenzie Collection and the few pieces exposed at Fife House, had been displayed to the English public. They remained at South Kensington until, in November 1879, the decision was taken to dissolve the India Museum and to distribute its contents between the British Museum and a newly formed Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum. In 1880 the Amarāvati sculptures came to the British Museum, where Sir Wollaston Franks, an admirer and collector of Indian, as of all Oriental art, arranged them, with the help of Fergusson,

14. Captain L. Tripe's volume of *Photographs of the Elliot Marbles and of other subjects in the Central Museum, Madras*, is dated 1858 on the cover and June, 1859, within.

15. Alexander was allowed to retain three pieces, one of which was the splendid slab which forms the frontispiece to James Burgess's book (Burgess, 1887). It was not purchased by Government until 1877-8.

16. 'Description of Amarāvati Tope in Guntūr.' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 3, 1868.

17. *Guide to India Museum*, 1876.

on the Main Staircase. The Museum already possessed one important fragment, purchased by one of its officers from his barber in 1860.¹⁸ In 1882 Franks acquired from Elliot a further piece in beautiful condition.¹⁹ In 1885, again at the instigation of Franks, who was keenly interested in the Stūpa, the Government of Madras presented the Museum with two further pieces, both in fine condition.²⁰ These last three pieces, compared with the remainder of the collection, show how lamentably the sculptures had suffered before they reached the Museum, having endured successively exposure in Madras, damp at Fife House and frost at South Kensington. This, however, was the end of their adventures; removed for safety during the Second World War, they have now (1951-2) been erected in the Front Hall of the Museum, in such a manner as to suggest the actual monument.

The fate of the site was no happier. In 1877 Robert Sewell carefully dug the north-west part of the mound, discovered many fragments, and published an invaluable report.²¹ But three years later the Duke of Buckingham, then Governor of Madras, arbitrarily ordered the complete 'excavation' of the site. The whole of the centre area was cleared of earth, and the final destruction of the Stūpa completed. When James Burgess, the officer in charge of the Archaeological Survey of Madras, visited the site in 1881, it had been converted into a large pit. The fragments from Sewell's excavations and the Duke of Buckingham's drastic clearance numbered about three hundred; Burgess discovered some ninety more. Most of these, together with a number from the Bezwāda Library, were despatched to the Government Museum, Madras, in batches, in the years 1883, 1890 and 1891. Burgess published a preliminary report on the finds, and later, the volume which he intended to be complementary to Fergusson's book.²² The area surrounding the site was examined by Alexander Rea in 1888-9, and again in 1905-6 and 1908-9.²³ Some of the finds were sent to Madras; a large and important group remains in the sculpture shed at Amarāvati. Finally, in 1942, Sivaramamurti published his great catalogue of the Madras collection.²⁴

The most important of the other early Buddhist sites, in which the Andhradeśa is so rich, may be mentioned.²⁵ Jaggayyapeta was explored by Burgess in 1882;²⁶ Bhatti-

18. Catalogue No. 113. Fergusson, 1873, p. 223, Note 1, gives some details of this mysterious accession, which cost the Museum £18. It has not been possible to discover how and when it reached England.

19. Catalogue No. 108. Elliot had retained this piece by him.

20. Catalogue Nos. 51 and 118, and 86.

21. Sewell, 1880.

22. Burgess, 1882, and Burgess, 1887.

23. A.R.A.S.I. 1905-6 and 1908-9.

24. Sivaramamurti, 1942.

25. R. Sewell, *List of the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras*. Madras, 1882, is still useful.

26. Burgess, 1887.

prolu, Gudivāda and Ghantaśāla by Rea in 1892;²⁷ Goli by Jouveau-Dubreuil in 1926;²⁸ Alluru and Gummadidurru by Kuraishi in 1926-7;²⁹ and Nāgārjunikonda, the richest site of all, by Longhurst in 1927-31,³⁰ and again by Ramachandran in 1938.³¹

27. Rea, 1894. The piece on his Pl. xxviii is now in the Musée Guimet (*Eastern Art*, Vol. 1, No. 1, July, 1928, Pl. xxi).

28. T. N. Ramachandran. *Buddhist Sculptures from a Stūpa near Goli Village, Guntūr District*. Madras, 1929.

29. A.R.A.S.I. 1926-7. Also R. Subba Rao. *Quarterly Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society*, July, 1928.

30. A.R.A.S.I. 1927-8, 1928-9, 1929-30, 1930-34. M.A.S.I. No. 54, 1938.

31. T. N. Ramachandran. *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. xxviii, No. 2, 1952.

The Form of the Stūpa

THE form of the Great Stūpa at Amarāvati, called in the inscriptions 'the Mahācaitya, or Great Caitya,¹ of the Buddha, belonging to the Caityika sect', has exercised scholars since Mackenzie made his discovery. It will be obvious from the history of the site that the reconstruction of the Stūpa is no easy matter. Mackenzie had to be content to watch the demolition of what was probably no more than a great mound of earth and brick. We now know that he missed surprisingly little, especially as he did not know what sort of monument to expect. Nevertheless, it was possible for Fergusson, himself a student of architecture, to speculate in 1868 that the monument consisted of two sculptured stone rails surrounding a complex of wooden buildings and a small stūpa thirty feet in diameter. Sewell, from his own observations and a careful study of Mackenzie's papers, was the first to point out that the two rails surrounded a vast, solid dome some one hundred and forty-eight feet in diameter. Later he, Elliot and Franks agreed that the inner 'rail' was, in fact, the decoration of the drum of the dome. This was accepted by Burgess in 1910; he had formerly been a partisan of Fergusson's theory, but had now had the opportunity to study other stūpas in the Andhradeśa, which had received less violent treatment. The manner in which the dome itself was decorated seemed to be the one remaining problem. An answer, which had already been indicated by Fergusson, was given by the French savant Jouveau-Dubreuil in 1932,² and later accepted by Sivaramamurti, Ramachandran and Gravely.³ However, in 1942, Brown produced a reconstruction of the Stūpa which, apart from the rail, differed entirely from that of Jouveau-Dubreuil.⁴ Since Brown's solution seems to have been accepted by the two most recent writers on the subject,⁵ it is necessary to argue the question again in detail. Though there are small

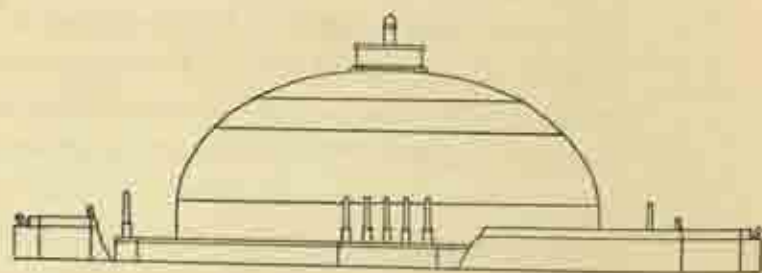
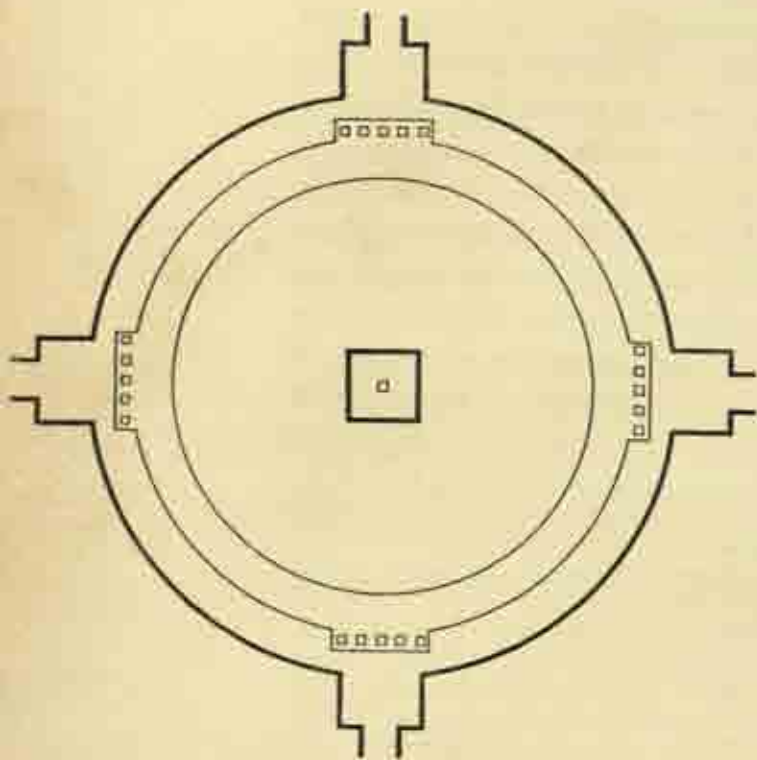
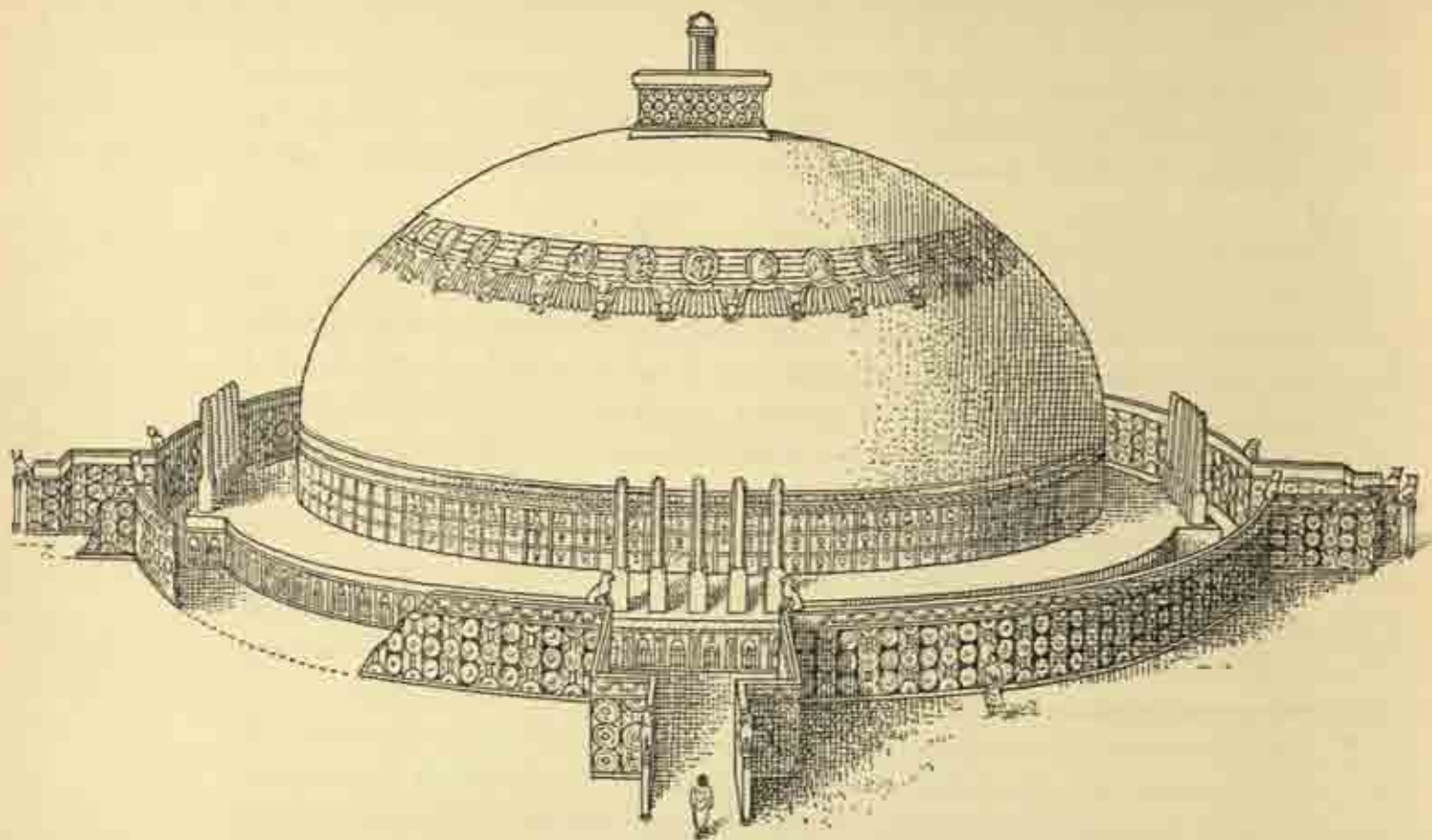
1. A stūpa is a solid structure consisting of a dome raised on a drum, and usually surrounded by a rail. It enshrines a relic either of the Buddha or a saint. The term *caitya*, though generally used as synonymous with stūpa, has a larger connotation and includes other objects of worship, e.g., a sacred tree.

2. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, 'L'Architecture d'Amarāvati,' *Bulletin de l'Association Française des Amis de l'Orient*, No. 12, April, 1932.

3. Sivaramamurti, 1942. T. N. Ramachandran's article on the Amarāvati Stūpa in Vol. 2 of *Āndhravijñānasarvasvamu*, Ed. Komarrāzu Venkata Lakshmana Rāu, Madras, 1934. Dr F. H. Gravely in conversation with the writer.

4. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu Periods)*, Bombay, 1942. Pl. xxviii and pp. 46-8.

5. S. K. Saraswati's contribution to Chapter XX of the *History and Culture of the Indian People. The Age of Imperial Unity*, Ed. R. C. Majumdar, Bombay, 1951, and Benjamin Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, London, 1933.



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A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE AMARAVATI STUPA

Fig. 2

problems which even now admit of no definite solution, there is little doubt that the general plan of the Stūpa and its decoration can be established.

Evidence for the reconstruction of the Stūpa comes from three sources; the reports of those who saw the site before its complete destruction, the remains of several other stūpas in the Andhradeśa which have been more carefully dug, and the representations of the Stūpa which are found on many of the sculptured slabs which have survived. Of the reports, Mackenzie's and Sewell's are the most valuable; Elliot published nothing and Burgess arrived too late.⁶ The remains of similar stūpas prove most useful in the reconstruction of the dome, for no one, not even Mackenzie, saw how it was decorated. The slabs representing the Stūpa should provide the best evidence for its original appearance (Pls. II and IV). The interpretations of the sculptor's intention are however various. The questions to be answered are: firstly, from what position, in his mind's eye, did the sculptor view the Stūpa, and consequently what are the true proportions of the separate parts of the structure; and secondly, did the sculptor show the decoration of the Stūpa as it actually was, or did he indulge his craftsmanship and knowledge of Buddhist legend to depict an 'ideal' stūpa.

It will be best to deal first with the stone⁷ rail, called *vetikā* in the inscriptions, about the dimensions and form of which there is least controversy, and then to discuss the Stūpa it encircled. The rail is the most elaborate and richly decorated of any that surrounded a Buddhist stūpa,⁸ and more of it has survived than of any other part of the monument, since it was covered, and so protected, by the debris thrown down from the central mound. It measured one hundred and ninety-two feet in diameter and was pierced by gates at the four cardinal points of the compass. It consisted of upright pillars, some nine feet high and two feet ten inches wide, with long, roughly worked stumps set in a foundation of brick and mortar.⁹ Between each pair of uprights were three circular cross-bars, about two feet nine inches in diameter, from which projected tenons, lenticular in section, which were let into corresponding mortises cut into the edges of the uprights.¹⁰ The whole was crowned by a coping, about two feet eight inches high and a foot thick, rounded at the top and fixed by tenon and

6. Burgess does add a little to what is known of the monument as such. His reports however are not models of clarity.

7. The stone used at Amarāvati and indeed throughout the Andhradeśa is a rather impure, micaceous and somewhat schistose limestone. Its greenish tone is probably due to aggregates of the mica flakes. The surface of the pieces in the British Museum is sadly calcined, but the stone is seen in its real beauty in the sculptures from Nāgārjunikonda. The quarries lie along the railway which runs from Guntūr to Machilipatnam.

8. No other rail in the Andhradeśa has survived, except for the fragments of a small decorated example (unpublished) found in the 'work-shop' at Nāgārjunikonda. Probably most stūpas possessed either a small, simple rail, e.g. Bhatiprolu, or, being raised on a square, stone-faced platform, like several at Nāgārjunikonda, had no rail at all.

9. The figures given are averages only. The masons were not troubled by mathematical accuracy in their cutting.

10. The vocabulary of the carpenter is here appropriate, since this peculiar method of construction is presumably derived from prototypes in wood. No wooden rails have however survived.

mortise to the pillars. At each of the four cardinal points the arms of the rail, leaving an opening of twenty-six feet, turned out radially for a distance of sixteen feet, then, having turned inwards at right-angles for a distance of six and a half feet, projected, again at right-angles, a further eight feet. The complete rail would have required about eight hundred feet of coping resting on one hundred and thirty-six pillars and three hundred and forty-eight cross-bars.

The coping, called the *unisa* in the inscriptions, was in sections of varying length, the largest being about eleven feet. It was carved on both faces throughout. The decoration of the outer face consisted of a continuous garland carried on the shoulders of young men, sometimes accompanied by women. (Pls. XI and XII.) The loops of the garland were filled with various motifs, the most common being the Tree, the Wheel, and the Stūpa, symbolizing the Enlightenment, First Sermon and Death of the Buddha. At the ends of the quadrants the garland is shown as drawn from the mouths of dwarfs (*ganas*)¹¹ or grotesque monsters, half-animal and half-fish (*makaras*).¹² The inner face was reserved for scenes from the life of the Buddha and from the stories of his previous existences (*Jātakas*). Thus as the devout circumambulated the Stūpa within the rail, the texts of their faith were unfolded in stone. (Pls. XIII-XIV.) Fragments of two other types of coping have survived. They are smaller than the main coping, being about twenty-three to twenty-six inches high. The first type (Pl. XXXIX) is also decorated with a continuous garland, drawn from the mouths of dwarfs and monsters.¹³ The garland is however carried by dwarfs and the loops are filled with half-lotuses. Moreover, one face of the coping is left plain. The second type (Pl. XXXVIII), rather smaller than the first, has generally been accepted as forming the outer decoration of the plinth of the rail. Whatever the use to which it might subsequently have been put, it was certainly in the first instance a coping. Most of the pieces have been split vertically, but a complete piece in the Museum¹⁴ shows not only mortise holes, but a bevelled edge to the plain face, for this type too is carved on one face only. The sculptured face depicts young men fighting or taming bulls, elephants and winged animals. The fragments of these two types of coping were found almost exclusively in the north-west quadrant of the rail, a few in the south-west quadrant.¹⁵ It will be shown below that the unsculptured face almost certainly faced outwards,

11. Burgess, 1887. Pl. XXIII, 2. Sivaramamurti, 1942. Pl. LI, 2.

12. Burgess, 1887. Pl. XXIV, 2. Sivaramamurti, 1942. Pl. LIII, 2. Fergusson, 1873. Pl. XCII, 4.

13. This type has always been accepted as a coping (*unisa*); it is so called in an inscription on a piece in Madras (Burgess, 1887. Pl. XXVIII, 6).

14. Catalogue No. 10.

15. The position in which fragments were discovered, especially in Sewell's careful dig, carries a certain weight. Even the workmen set on by the Duke of Buckingham are not likely to have carried pieces farther than was necessary. It must however be admitted that the unpublished photographs of the site in 1881 show a hopeless jumble.

thus adhering to the principle that the inner surface was the more important. It is interesting to note that on the slabs representing the Stūpa, the sculptor usually employs on the coping two motifs: men carrying the garland (Pl. iv), and men fighting animals (Pl. ii); dwarfs carrying the garland are found but rarely.¹⁶ The men fighting animals motif has, however, little in common with the coping just described except the subject.¹⁷

The decoration of the pillars, sometimes called *pendaka* in the inscriptions, consisted of a full and two half-lotuses separated by three wide and shallow flutes. Some of the finest pieces have the whole surface gently curved. (Pl. xxia.) Though there is infinite variety in the detail – it is here that the sculptor lavished all his skill as a decorator – the principle of design is fairly uniform.¹⁸ On the outer face the flutes above the full lotus usually show men and women adoring a Tree, Wheel or Stūpa, while those below depict dancing dwarfs. The inner face is again much more elaborate. The centre lotus, the flutes and sometimes the half-lotuses are given over to Jātakas and the main events of the Buddha's life, complementary to the inner face of the coping. One type of pillar – the simplest – is smaller than the main series, a little over eight feet high and two feet six inches or less wide. The flutes are plain, there are no figure subjects, and the decoration is on one face only. This type is again largely found in the north-west quadrant, closely associated with the two simpler varieties of coping. Fortunately, Sewell found fragments of three of these pillars *in situ*;¹⁹ few important pieces were so discovered. Here again the unsculptured side faced outward. The inner face of the pillars was plain for six inches above the foundations, thus gaining a little extra height.

The cross-bars, called *sūci* in the inscriptions, were carved on both faces with full lotuses, except for the inner face of the middle piece. This contained some great event from Buddhist legend.²⁰ These magnificent *tondi* are perhaps the most satisfying, as they are the most ambitious, of the sculptor's achievements. There is also a less elaborate form of the cross-bar, an example of which Sewell found in position between two of the pillars already mentioned.²¹ It was two feet four inches or less in

16. Burgess, 1887. Pls. i and xxi, i.

17. A type of slab, two foot eight inches high and decorated with men carrying the garland, has a narrow frieze at the top and consequently a wider surface for the main motif. (Catalogue Nos. 78–80.) It is thin with a flat top, and probably not a coping but a frieze applied to the Stūpa or to the wall of a building in its vicinity.

18. The various modifications of the main plan of the decoration are discussed in the next chapter.

19. Sewell, 1880, pp. 41–2. (His numbers 26, 28 and 37.)

20. Mackenzie noted this: 'The lower circular stones are finished with carvings resembling foliage and those placed above them display a variety of figures in bas-relief.' The upper cross-bar and the tops of the pillars, shorn off by the weight of the debris thrown from the mound, are missing in all Mackenzie's drawings.

21. Sewell, 1880, p. 42. (His number 27.)

diameter, with one face plain but curved, following the line of the lenticular mortise. The plain side faced outward. This type seems also to be concentrated in the south-west and north-west quadrants, with a larger group in the latter. It seems then that the simpler varieties of coping, pillar and cross-bar were brought into the scheme of the rail with pieces of larger dimension and greater elaboration. This lack of uniformity seemed perhaps no more incongruous to the 'Officer of Works' of the Stūpa than to his medieval counterpart in Europe. In his representations of the Stūpa the sculptor seems to have indulged his imagination. He depicts four cross-bars, separated by a narrow pillar decorated with two full and two half-lotuses.²²

The gates may be reconstructed from Mackenzie's plan,²³ which is supported by Burgess' discovery of the outline of the brick foundations which secured the pillars at the south gate.²⁴ It would not however have been possible to infer the double vestibule from the sculptor's representations of the Stūpa. At the gates the coping was crowned with four seated lions, two facing each other across the wider opening and two facing outward at the final projections of the rail.²⁵ The coping stopped short before it reached the ends of the projecting arms, thus leaving room for a platform for the lions,²⁶ which was supported by slender, round columns.²⁷ Since the ground level outside the rail was three to five feet below that within, a semicircular stone threshold and steps decorated with flutes and lotuses were provided.²⁸ (Pl. ma.) The foundations of the rail seem to have been buttressed on the outer side by another plain, granite rail.²⁹

Within the rail lay the processional path (*pradakṣhināpatha*) thirteen feet wide and paved with slabs of a grey limestone, which was also used at Nāgārjunikonda for plain work, such as the facing of walls. Pillars, usually topped by a small stūpa or wheel, were erected in the path, though it was presumably left fairly clear.³⁰

Burgess found at various points portions of a circle of brickwork, one hundred and sixty-two feet seven inches in diameter, which had supported what used to be called

22. These narrow pillars do seem however to have been used where the arms of the rail turned outwards. (Ferguson, 1873, Pl. LXVI.) The sculptor also shows cross-bars decorated on their outer face with a striding lion (Pl. mib) or with large animal or figure subjects (Burgess, 1887, Pls. I and XXXVI, 2 - the latter a Mackenzie drawing).

23. Burgess, 1887, Pl. III.

24. Burgess, 1887, Pl. IV.

25. Catalogue Nos. 47 and 48.

26. Catalogue No. 13.

27. Catalogue No. 14.

28. Burgess, 1887, Pl. XXXI, 5 may be an example of such a step; it was certainly put to a similar use later. Many semicircular thresholds have been found at Nāgārjunikonda. They are, of course, the precursors of the famous 'moon stones' of Ceylon.

29. A.R.A.S.I. 1905-6, p. 119.

30. Catalogue No. 29.

'the inner rail'. The south-east quadrant of this circle was almost complete in Mackenzie's day, and in the earlier of his two plans he shows a band of masonry four feet wide against which stones were placed.³¹ He describes them thus: 'The slabs composing the inner circle are remarkable for the beauty of the sculptures upon them, which are small, and consist of figures, festoons, and a variety of ornaments very neatly executed. On the side are pillars, which are finished either with figures of lions and horses, or of men and women; and over the top is an entablature replete with figures in various acts of devotion or amusement. These inner slabs have been cemented to each other with strong mortar, and supported by a wall of masonry rising to a moderate height in the rear; the adjustment has been very happily executed. Some of these slabs are six inches in thickness, and others nearly nine inches: their shape is chiefly rectangular.' Though most of the slabs representing the Stūpa are in the Museum, the finest is in Madras.³² It shows, cut from one slab of stone, the Stūpa, flanked on each side by a narrow upright (Pl. viii b), and crowned by a frieze (Pl. xiv a).³³ Mackenzie's description of the side 'pillars' and 'entablature' will immediately be recognized. Also, in his drawings, these three types of slab are frequently noted as coming from 'the inner circle'. Moreover, where this type of slab is found *in situ* at other stūpas in the Andhradeśa, it always decorated the base or drum of the stūpa.³⁴ Brown objects that these slabs are never so represented on the reproductions of the Stūpa. This is not so. The tops of such slabs may be seen above the rail coping on several fragments in the Museum.³⁵ In any case, we have already learned not to interpret the sculptor's statements too literally. The Madras slab stood about six feet above the processional path, so the detail of the frieze could be 'read' at eye level. This, called 'moderate' by Mackenzie, may be taken to be the height of the drum of the Stūpa. Roughly the same height of drum is found on other stūpas in the Andhradeśa which have survived.³⁶ Brown prefers a height of twenty feet. There is no evidence for this. Brown errs because he has not appreciated that in representing the Stūpa the sculptor took up an 'ideal' position from which he could show as much of the Stūpa as possible. He thus looked down into the space between the Stūpa and

31. Sewell, 1880, Pl. 1. This plan is dated March, 1816. The second plan (Burgess, 1887, Pl. iiii) is dated June, 1817.

32. Burgess, 1887, Pl. 1. Very few of these slabs remained for Burgess to collect; their shape and size made them especially suitable for repair-work in the local temples, where many may still be seen.

33. A piece with the stūpa and frieze carved from one slab was found at Gummididuru. A.R.A.S.I. 1926-7, Pl. xxxvii.

34. Gummididuru (A.R.A.S.I. 1926-7, Pl. xxxv); small stūpa at Amarāvati (A.R.A.S.I. 1905-6, Pl. 1); several examples at Nāgārjunikonda.

35. Pl. II and Fergusson, 1873, Pl. lxxxii, 1 and 2.

36. Nāgārjunikonda, three to five feet according to size of stūpa; Ghantaśāla, four feet six inches; Bhattiprolu, six feet. See *Additional Note* on page 38.

the rail, making the frieze of the drum, which is clearly represented though larger than life, to appear higher than the coping of the rail. Once this is accepted everything falls into place.

The drum of the Stūpa then was one hundred and sixty-two feet seven inches in diameter³⁷ and about six feet in height. Against the four foot thick supporting wall were placed the slabs already mentioned. These show considerable variety in detail. Many types of stūpa are represented, more or less ornate (Pls. 1b-1v). The narrow uprights which separate them are also various (Pls. viii and 1xa)³⁸; the most frequent subjects are the wheel-crowned pillar above the empty throne of the Buddha, and the Four Great Miracles.³⁹ Upwards of a hundred of the large slabs would be required to face the drum. They were probably interspersed with other slabs roughly the same size (Pls. vi and vii). A slab similar to that on Pl. xviii was said to have been erected at the foot of the Stūpa.⁴⁰ The frieze, also called *unisa* in the inscriptions, was like the inner face of the rail, designed to edify, and the Jātakas and Events of the Buddha's life here predominate (Pls. x-xiva). The pieces differ in detail, chiefly in the way the scenes are divided, whether by a pilaster or by three or four small lotus roundels set vertically. There are also several types of smaller frieze. Some belong to a different type of drum slab, which will be discussed in the next chapter. Others belong almost certainly to small stūpas set outside the rail, especially those to the north of the West Gate, where a number of small friezes were found.⁴¹

At the four cardinal points and facing the gates were projections to the drum about thirty-two feet long and six feet wide.⁴² On these projecting platforms stood five pillars, about ten to fourteen feet in height, which had rectangular bases, some four feet in height, and octagonal shafts. The drum slabs show them as crowned with four small arched windows, often with a model of a stūpa on the centre pillar.⁴³ The crowns of complete pillars found at Nāgārjunikonda, however, are slightly domed,

37. Comparative figures are: Bhattiprolu, one hundred and forty-eight feet; Ghantāśāla, one hundred and twenty-two feet; the Mahācaitya at Nāgārjunikonda, one hundred and six feet.

38. An upright similar to that on Pl. viii and a slab showing a plain stūpa were found more or less *in situ* in the south-west quadrant by Burgess. (Burgess, 1882, Nos. 53 and 54.)

39. The Renunciation; the Enlightenment (sometimes represented as the Temptation); the first Sermon; and the Death (Pl. viii and c; reading from bottom upwards). One upright (Catalogue No. 106) reached to the top of the drum.

40. Sivaramamurti, 1942, p. 281, No. 40. This type of slab is usually called *punaghatapakato*; here it is called simply *udhapata*, 'upright slab'.

41. Catalogue Nos. 119 and 120, and Burgess, 1887, Pl. XIII, 3-11. These repeats of stūpas and Buddhas are late, being carved in some instances on re-used rail pillars.

42. The sole evidence for the dimensions of the *āyaka*-platforms is in Mackenzie's two plans. Comparative figures are Mahācaitya at Nāgārjunikonda, twenty-two feet by five feet; Ghantāśāla, seventeen feet by five feet.

43. See Sivaramamurti, 1942, p. 173, ff. E. 13 and 14 for two of these precursors of the later *kūḍi*. One small stūpa was said to have been found by Elliot, but is lost.

having gores or facets which follow the eight sides.⁴⁴ On the drum slabs the bases of the pillars are shown decorated with Tree, Wheel, Stūpa, Wheel, Tree or with five stūpas or five standing Buddhas. These five pillars, peculiar to the stūpas of the Andhradeśa, are called *āyaka* or *āyaka-khamba*, a term whose significance is as obscure as the function of the objects it describes.⁴⁵ It is not possible to say whether any emphasis was given to the *āyaka*-platforms at Amarāvati by special treatment or subjects on the drum slabs.⁴⁶ For Brown the *āyaka*-platforms were twenty feet in height, enclosed a staircase leading to the 'upper processional path', and on the exterior were elaborated into a recessed shrine or altarpiece. It is sufficient to say that there is no evidence for such a feature in any stūpa in the Andhradeśa, nor do the representations of the Stūpa allow one to infer it.⁴⁷ Brown does not indicate what slabs, in two registers each presumably ten feet high, decorated his drum.

We must return again to Mackenzie's first plan. On it, in the south-west quadrant, is shown a band of masonry eight feet thick and forty feet long, standing twelve feet within the circle of the drum and concentric with it.⁴⁸ Mackenzie observes: 'On the south side, within the circles, a strong work of masonry is discernible, which may probably be the remains of an interior wall, as the people of the village informed me that a similar work had been observed all round, which has since been cleared away in removing the earth.' There can be little doubt that it was this eight foot wall which supported the dome itself.⁴⁹ This feature is found in many stūpas in the Andhradeśa, for example, at Nāgārjunikonda, Alluru, and Ghantaśāla. The wall is frequently strengthened by radial walls, often laid, as at Nāgārjunikonda and Ghantaśāla, in an elaborate wheel pattern, which may have had some symbolic intention. Whether

44. Such pillars are shown on the less ornate drum slabs (Pl. IIIb).

45. The word *āyaka* is also applied to the platform on which the pillars stood and to the gates (*dāra*). There is an excellent note on this subject in K. Gopalachari. *Early History of the Andhra Country*. University of Madras, 1941. p. 140. Note 67. The *caitya-khamba* (Burgess, 1887. Pl. XIV, 1-4) is, however, in the present writer's opinion, not an *āyaka* pillar, but a pillar, crowned by a *caitya*, set up at the south gate in the processional path, as shown on the drum slabs.

46. At Nāgārjunikonda some *āyaka* slabs, square in shape, were designed with a great roundel. (M.S.A.I. No. 54, Pl. XIV), a feature also found at Ghantaśāla (A.R.A.S.I. 1919-20. Pl. 23b). There were projections at the ends of the friezes, decorated with a *mithuna* group.

47. Brown adduces the Ruvanvāli stūpa at Anurādhapura. This is disposed of by S. Paranavitana. *The Stūpa in Ceylon. Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of Ceylon*. Vol. v, 1947. p. 58. What is interesting, however, is that the Sinhalese *vāhalkada*, though completely dissimilar in structure to the *āyaka*-platform of the Andhradeśa, was known in the early 3rd century A.D. as *ayaka*. Behind the southern *vāhalkada* of the Ruvanvāli stūpa was, however, recently discovered a projecting platform very similar to the *āyaka*-platform, though there is no evidence that it carried pillars. Moreover, a pillar, identical to the *āyaka* pillars found at Nāgārjunikonda, was in Sinhalese practice placed in the *harmikā* of the stūpa. On the *vāhalkadas* are found the earliest examples of Sinhalese sculpture; they are directly inspired by the sculptures of the Andhradeśa, especially by those of Nāgārjunikonda.

48. This band also appears in the second plan, but without measurements.

49. Mackenzie characteristically noted the size - twenty inches by ten inches by four inches - of the large bricks common in this period.

this was the case at Amarāvati, there is no means of knowing. The stūpa at Bhattiprolu, almost as large as that at Amarāvati, seems to have been constructed of solid brickwork. We may believe that the Amarāvati Stūpa, the largest and most elaborate in the Andhradeśa, was of similar internal construction to that at Ghantaśāla, the spaces between the system of walls being filled with earth or alternate layers of earth and concrete. The dome of the Stūpa was then one hundred and thirty-eight feet in diameter,⁵⁰ resting on a drum, whose diameter was an additional twenty-four feet. There is no indication that the top of the drum, which formed a platform twelve feet wide, was ever used as a processional path, or, indeed, that it was the vestigial remains of such a path.⁵¹ It was probably used for offerings, possibly for free-standing sculptures, and certainly as a gutter during the rains.⁵²

The height and shape of the dome must be inferred, since this feature has survived, and that but fragmentarily, in only one stūpa in the Andhradeśa. At Bhattiprolu, Rea found five foot six inches of the dome still standing. It showed a batter of one foot two inches, so the height of the dome would probably have been less than half its diameter, say sixty feet. The height of the Amarāvati dome may have been roughly the same. Its shape however was probably quite different from that of the Bhattiprolu stūpa. Here again Mackenzie is helpful. He says: 'The upper part (of the mound) rose in a turreted shape to a height of 20 feet, which was cased round with bricks of unusual dimensions; the diameter at top measured 30 yards.' When Mackenzie

50. Comparative figures are: Bhattiprolu, one hundred and thirty-two feet; Ghantaśāla, one hundred and eleven feet; the Mahācaitya at Nāgārjunikonda, one hundred and six feet.

51. Comparative figures are: Bhattiprolu, eight feet; Ghantaśāla, five feet seven inches; the Mahācaitya at Nāgārjunikonda, seven feet. Jouveau-Dubreuil has said (*op. cit.*, p. 14) that at Bhattiprolu the top of the drum was wider than that of 'later' stūpas, and was, in effect, a processional path, the drum frieze being then a true balustrade. This is the only section of his brilliant paper which is unacceptable. It has however recently been supported in a modified form by Philippe Stern and Mireille Bénisti. 'Évolution du stūpa figuré dans les sculptures d'Amarāvati.' *Bulletin de la Société des Études Indochinoises*. Nouvelle Série, Tome XXVII, No. 4, 1952. They consider that the type of stūpa peculiar to the Andhradeśa, i.e. with lion-crowned, projecting gates to the rail, and āyaka-platforms, developed from a second type (our Pl. 1), which lacked both these members, but was, in their opinion, furnished with a true balustrade around the drum. They also believe that representations of the second type are earlier than those of the first. Now, āyaka-platforms are found at Bhattiprolu and Jaggayyapeta, which are accepted by all authorities as among the earliest stūpas in the Andhradeśa. If it is objected that the present form of these stūpas is a later reconstruction, it will have to be explained why they were left with their 'old' decoration. Again, the second form of stūpa is found in what will here be called the Late Phase at Amarāvati both on the sculptures (e.g. Pl. XII), and in structural examples (e.g. A.R.A.S.I. 1905-6. Pl. 1). Nor, to the eye of the writer, does the 'balustrade' of the one type, as shown on the slabs, differ in any respect from the 'frieze' of the other. Especially is this so of the single example of the type called 'transitional' by Stern and Bénisti (Pl. XII), where the unusual perspective seems due merely to an error in cutting. The fact is that both types are quite distinct and existed side by side in the Andhradeśa until the end of the style. The origin of the āyaka-platform, which is not found at any Sātavāhana sites in the Central or North-west Deccan, remains a mystery.

52. Brown's 'upper processional path' has a balustrade about eight feet high, constructed like the railing to the Vihni shrine at Beśnagar, with our drum slabs facing inwards. It is only necessary to add that he does not indicate what slabs faced outwards.

first visited Amarāvati in 1797 he found that the Zemindar's men had cut a trench into the drum platform between the wall supporting the drum slabs and that supporting the dome. He notes: 'It is probable that this body of masonry did not extend to a greater depth.' The dome wall then rose vertically to a height of twenty feet, or roughly fourteen feet above the drum. Some of the elaborate drum slabs show this vertical spring of the dome quite clearly (Pl. iv). Practically all show it cased with large sculptured slabs surmounted by two friezes, the lower of running animals and the upper of *triśūlas*. If the sculptor has rendered the relative heights of the friezes and the *āyaka*-pillars correctly, the former stood rather less than twelve feet above the drum level. At Nāgārjunikonda the slabs which decorated the spring of the dome are divided horizontally into three fields with a pilaster down the right-hand side and the same two friezes at the top.⁵³ Their general design is that of many slabs found at Amarāvati (Pls. xix and xxa), which show in three registers the Tree (occasionally the Buddha), the Wheel and the Stūpa, and at the top narrow friezes of running animals and of the trident device (*triśūlas*).⁵⁴ The observant Mackenzie notes: 'A great many slabs, of a large size, are seen lying on the surface of the reservoir, but it is difficult to say where they were originally placed. On these are chiefly represented a few large figures of men and women, in divisions of two or three, one above another, each three feet high.' Now the height of these slabs, usually called *udhapata* in the inscriptions, is about ten feet six inches, thus casing most of the fourteen foot vertical section of the dome. There is another type of slab divided horizontally into three fields. Though no piece has survived entire, the Mackenzie drawings include one almost complete.⁵⁵ This type seems to have been about eleven feet high. The base of the slabs is always carved with a rail pattern, above which is frequently represented a Cakravarti or Universal Monarch, and the scene of the First Sermon. (Pls. xvi and xvii.) One piece in the Museum shows the Cakravarti above adoring Nāgas (Pl. xv). The piece drawn by Mackenzie's draughtsmen shows the Departure, the Enlightenment and – an unusual theme – Aśoka's attempt to open the Rāmagrāma stūpa. It is here suggested that these pieces formed the decoration of the dome behind the *āyaka*-pillars, their greater scale giving emphasis and dignity to that part of the structure.^{55a} The small difference in height as between the two types of slab is not likely to

53. M.A.S.I. No. 54. Pl. 1b. There can be no doubt that these slabs decorated the spring of the dome, since they are cut on the curve to fit it (M.A.S.I. No. 54. Pl. viii).

54. These pieces are never found complete, but in sections of varying size, which have to be fitted together. They were clamped to the dome by iron rods, passed through holes in the *triśūlas* or in the decorated bands which divided the scenes.

55. Fergusson, 1873. Pl. xcvi, Fig. 2. The fragments of this piece are in Madras. (Sivaramamurti, 1942. Pl. xix, 1.)

55a. One drum slab, Catalogue No. 100, shows behind the *āyaka*-pillars what appears to be the scene of the First Sermon above a rail pattern.

have disturbed the mason. In his reconstruction, Brown retains the large slabs shown on the representations of the Stūpa. He does not indicate by which of the surviving fragments they are represented. It may be added that slabs in three registers are not shown on the drum slabs at Nāgārjunikonda, yet it is known that they were used there, and on the dome of the stūpas.

Above the dome slabs began the curve of the dome.⁵⁶ At the summit of the dome stood the *harmikā*, which consisted of a rail, similar in construction to the great rail, forming a square with sides some twenty-four feet long.⁵⁷ From the centre of the *harmikā* projected an octagonal pillar sturdier than an *āyaka*-pillar but of the same form; it was probably set deep in the body of the dome. Small pillars, to which were attached streamers and stone umbrellas, were also erected. The curve of the dome was plastered. It was decorated with friezes of lotus-filled vases (*punnaghata*s), dwarfs carrying the garland, and intricate swags and garlands framing elaborate roundels. All this work was in stucco, and must have been of fine quality, but next to nothing has survived. It was probably painted and gilded, and must have made a splendid show against the dazzling whiteness of the plastered dome.⁵⁸

Nothing is known of the position of the relic-chamber in the Stūpa. A stone box and crystal casket, now in Madras, is said to have been obtained by Elliot from the successors of the Zemindar who first dug the mound.⁵⁹ They may well have come from the Stūpa.

There remains to be mentioned a type of slab which was carved with the footprints of the Buddha (*Buddhapāda*) (Pl. XLVII). This type was found almost exclusively at the east and west gates, and may have been set in the processional path.

In the precincts of the Stūpa stood numerous small stūpas of brick.⁶⁰ Some probably resembled the simpler examples on the drum slabs (Pl. II). Others were richly decorated. Indeed, size had little to do with elaboration; the Mahāchaitya at Nāgārjunikonda was severely plain. The monastic buildings which must have surrounded

56. It is worth mentioning that a piece from Nāgārjunikonda (A.R.A.S.I. 1930-4. Pl. XXXIXc) shows on one slab three friezes, of *trifūlas*, of *punnaghata*s and of young men carrying the garland. Friezes of *punnaghata*s and dwarfs carrying the garland are almost always shown, on the representations of the Stūpa, above the *trifūlas*. They were probably of stucco. However, if Mackenzie's 'turret' had originally been of a greater height, it is not impossible that *punnaghata* slabs (Pl. XVIII) and the type of frieze mentioned in Note 17 surmounted the *trifūla* frieze. This would of course add some five or six feet to the vertical section of the dome, giving it the high-shouldered appearance of some early Sinhalese domes. On smaller stūpas *punnaghata* slabs sometimes decorated the spring of the dome. (A.R.A.S.I. 1905-6. Pl. I, top.) They are also sometimes shown as large slabs above the *trifūlas*. (Fergusson, 1873. Pl. LXXXIX, 1.)

57. This was probably the size of the *harmikā* at Bhāṭṭiprolu. That at Amarāvati was perhaps somewhat larger.

58. It is possible that the sculptures were plastered and painted. Mackenzie says that all the carvings appeared to have been painted red and varnished, though this embellishment is not likely to have been original.

59. Burgess, 1887. Pl. LIII, 4-7.

60. A.R.A.S.I. 1905-6, and 1908-9.

the Stūpa have not yet been investigated. The pillared hall (*mandapam*)⁶¹ of such an establishment would have been raised on columns similar to many pieces in the Museum. (Pl. XLVI.)

61. A pillar in Madras (Sivaramamurti, 1942, p. 270, No. IV.g.15) came from such a hall (*padhūnamadaya*).

Additional Note: The Mackenzie Collection in the Library of the Commonwealth Relations Office contains what appear to be the originals, done on the spot, of the two plans of the Stūpa in the Mackenzie Volume of Drawings. (Note 31.) In the right-hand corner of the plan dated June 1817 is a pencil sketch, showing a section of the 'inner' and outer rails. Below the sketch is the following legend, now very faint: 'The inner stones round (i) the pit without the entablature 5 ft. Outer stones in a complete state 9½ ft.' Against the outer rail is pencilled 9½ ft., and against the 'inner' 5 ft. 3 ins. The width of the processional path is given as 13 ft. The 'entablature', i.e. the frieze, is clearly represented on the top of the 'inner' rail, i.e. the drum of the Stūpa. There can therefore be no doubt that the height and decoration of the drum were as here indicated. The height of the 'outer stones' given by Mackenzie is that of the uprights of the rail; it does not include the coping.

The Date and Style of the Sculptures

HITHERTO all accounts of the development of the style of the Amarāvati sculptures have reflected with minor variations what has here been called the long chronology.¹ While there is general agreement that the mature style covered the 2nd, and first half of the 3rd centuries A.D., developing consistently in the 3rd century A.D. at Nāgārjunikonda and other sites in the Andhradeśa, a number of pieces, though not always the same ones, are generally relegated to the 2nd or early 1st century B.C. This large gap is an embarrassment to those who hold that from their rise to power in the late 3rd century B.C. the Sātavāhanas were in continuous possession of the Andhradeśa. The implications of the short chronology will be obvious. It will be possible to argue that before the 1st century A.D. there was neither the social organization nor the economic wealth to erect a series of monuments in the Andhradeśa. It is not even certain that its inhabitants professed the Buddhist religion. Again, the dating of the 'early' Amarāvati style is largely based on comparison with that of other monuments, especially the cave-temples of the north-west Deccan and the stūpas of North India. The dating of many of the latter, however, may have to be reconsidered in the light of the short chronology. Since it is the 'early' period which provides the difficulties, it will be best to work from fairly secure to less certain ground, and to deal first with the mature Amarāvati style, as generally accepted, which is reflected in most of the sculptures which have survived.

Once the main constructional work was completed, the erection of the rail and the decoration of the Stūpa – the drum and the dome – were probably carried forward contemporaneously; the speed of the work being conditioned only by the number of masons and amount of money available. The changes in style as the work proceeded are best seen in the rail, especially in its pillars, which fall easily into the following formal series.

(1) The simplest type, of which there are two examples in the Museum,² is carved on the inner face only. (Pl. xxb.) It is smaller than the general run – about eight feet high and two feet six inches wide – and is found almost exclusively in the north-west

1. The most authoritative accounts are those of A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, London, 1927; L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, Paris, 1929; and Sivaramamurti, 1942.

2. Catalogue Nos. 1 and 2.

quadrant of the rail.³ The narrow friezes at top and bottom and the bands which surround the lotuses are filled either with a geometrical ornament or with a *makara* vomiting a regularly curving flowered scroll. The lotuses are formed of three rows of petals. The corners of the fluted areas, which are otherwise left plain, are filled with lotus buds.

(2) This type is generally similar to the preceding, but is larger – about two feet ten inches wide and probably up to nine feet high. Again most pieces were found in the north-west quadrant.⁴ A piece in the Museum differs from all other pillars in that the corners of the fluted area are filled not with lotus buds, but with small jars of lotuses.⁵

(3) This type is sculptured on both faces. Into the fluted area, which is otherwise left plain, is introduced the peculiar foliate-wave motif, which on a Museum piece appears on one face only.⁶ There is a greater complexity in the scrolls. The lotuses are formed of four rows of petals and the surrounding band is usually filled with scrolls vomited by addorsed *makaras*.

(4) Here the fluted areas of the outer face are left plain, except for the foliate-waves. The flutes of the inner face are filled with figure subjects. The Museum piece shows the Elevation of the Headdress and Bowl of the Buddha.⁷ The lotuses are formed of four or five rows of petals, the centre row or rows being occasionally incurved.

(5) This may be called the fully developed type.⁸ (Pl. XXI, a and b.) The outer face has at the top a frieze of elephants or winged animals adoring the Stūpa, and at the base an elaborate scroll vomited by *makaras*. The upper fluted area is usually filled with men and women adoring the Tree, Wheel, Stūpa or Nāga, the lower with foliate-waves and dwarfs, dancing or making music. The centre lotus occasionally bears a triple-bodied beaked lion.⁹ On the inner face, the centre lotus, in addition to the fluted areas, is now filled with a scene, thus illustrating either three separate stories or episodes of the same story. Occasionally even the centre of the top half-lotus is so filled.¹⁰ The decoration at once highly naturalistic and disciplined within its strictly curving scrolls, represents the high-water mark of imaginative ornament at Amarāvati, indeed in India. (Pls. XXII, XXIV, XXV and XXX.)

(6) The general design of the previous type remains;¹¹ the style undergoes an

3. Sewell, 1880. Nos. 26, 28, 37 and 40.

4. Burgess, 1882. Nos. 142, 155 and 156. No. 155 is illustrated in Burgess, 1887. Pl. x, i.

5. Catalogue No. 3. It is not possible to say whether this piece was carved on one face only, since it is a palimpsest.

6. Catalogue No. 4. Burgess, 1882. No. 187.

7. Catalogue No. 5.

8. Catalogue No. 30 is the best example. Catalogue Nos. 31–5 are also of this type.

9. Burgess, 1887. Pl. VIII, i.

10. Burgess, 1887. Pl. XI, i.

11. At least in the lower half of the pillar. No complete pillars of this type seem to have survived.

important change.¹² Though the friezes, especially at the base of the pillars, retain their interest, the beautifully controlled scrolls lose definition, and may, in a series of Museum pieces (Pls. xxiii, xxviii, xxvii and xxxi), be seen to disintegrate into a shallow-cut, *mouvementé* surface. This manner leads towards the even coarser decorative carving of Nāgārjunikonda. Indeed, the latest in the Museum series¹³ shows on its outer face the 'rosette and leaf' ornament ubiquitous at Nāgārjunikonda.¹⁴ Though there is a real decline in decorative carving, the treatment and composition of the human figures show a remarkable development. There is in the previous style, even in violent subjects, a quality of stillness, of dignity, which we call classical. (Pls. xxiv and xxv.) Now the figures, elongated into a spidery elegance, are stirred by an agitated and nervous movement. (Pls. xxvii and xxix.) The sophistication and sensuous *morbidezza* of Amarāvati culminated in the hurried cutting and violent diagonals of Nāgārjunikonda design, a style coarser but no less impressive. The latest pillar in the Museum (Pls. xxix and xxxi) stands at the very beginning of the Nāgārjunikonda style. It would not perhaps be entirely without meaning to apply here the categories into which the history of European art is made to fall, and to speak of archaic, classical and mannerist phases at Amarāvati and baroque at Nāgārjunikonda.

The cross-bars of the rail show a similar development.

(1) This type is small – about two feet four inches in diameter – and is carved on the inner face only with a lotus with three rows of petals.¹⁵ It is almost exclusively confined to the north-west quadrant.

(2) This type is similar to the preceding, but is carved with a lotus on both faces, which is often surrounded by a scrolled band. There is no example in the Museum, but a number was found by Burgess in the south-west quadrant.¹⁶

(3) This again is the fully developed type. It is roughly two feet nine inches in diameter, and is carved on both faces with lotuses or, if it occupied the middle position, with a figure subject on the inner face.¹⁷ (Pls. xxxii, xxxiii, xxxiv and xxxvi.) The lotuses have up to five rows of petals, often surrounded by a scrolled band. The most beautiful use of the lotus is when the centre one or two rows of petals are incurved.

12. Catalogue Nos. 82-4.

13. Catalogue No. 84.

14. M.A.S.I. No. 54. Pls. xx, xxib, xxib, xlvib, lb.

15. Catalogue Nos. 6-8. Catalogue No. 6 shows three rows of petals and a decorative band. Burgess, 1882. Nos. 36, 109, 110, 111 and 116. No. 36, illustrated in Burgess, 1887, Pl. xvii, 2, shows two rows of petals and a decorative band of geometrical ornament. There are a few examples of a smaller cross-bar, about one foot six inches in diameter, also carved on one face. The lotuses have two rows of petals. These pieces were later re-carved on the plain face with the figure of a dwarf. (Burgess, 1882, Nos. 105, 106 and 108.)

16. Burgess, 1882, Nos. 39, 40, 41 and many more up to No. 79. Burgess, 1887, Pl. xviii, 1, and Pl. xix, 3.

17. Catalogue Nos. 36-42.

Here is found the same treatment and composition of the scrolls and the human figure as in the fully developed type of pillar.

(4) The general design of the cross-bar remains the same, but the scrolls show the same deterioration and the style the same development as in the last type of pillar.¹⁸ (Pls. xxxv and xxxvii.) The band surrounding a lotus roundel in the Museum nicely illustrates the moment at which the regular scrolls began to disintegrate.¹⁹ Another, drawn by one of Mackenzie's draughtsmen, shows the 'rosette and leaf' ornament of Nāgārjunikonda.²⁰ The latest piece in the Museum (Pl. xxxv) again foreshadows the Nāgārjunikonda style.

For convenience the following terms will now be used to describe the mature Amarāvati style. Pieces which exhibit the characteristics of style of pillar types 1-4 or cross-bar types 1-2 will be considered as belonging to the Early Phase; those of pillar type 5 or cross-bar type 3 as belonging to the Middle Phase; and those of pillar type 6 or cross-bar type 4 as belonging to the Late Phase.

At first sight the coping does not seem to show such a neat progression as the other members of the rail. Having established that two groups at least share the characteristics of the Middle and Late Phases, it will be best to fix some absolute dates before discussing the two remaining types. The Middle Phase is represented by numerous fragments (Pls. xl, xlii and xliii),²¹ the Late Phase by relatively few.²² (Pls. xlii, xliii and xlv.) One fragment (Pl. xliii) stands at the beginning, another (Pl. xlv) at the end, of the Late Phase.

There are two historical inscriptions on the fragments of the Stūpa. The first mentions the gift of a 'Wheel of the Law' at the west gate of the Great Stūpa in an unspecified year of the king, Śrī Pulumāvi,²³ who has here been dated about A.D. 130 to 159. Unfortunately, none of the sculptured surface of this wheel-crowned pillar has survived, but the inscription does make it clear that by this period the Stūpa and at least the west gate of the rail were already standing.²⁴ It does not of course follow that the decoration of the Stūpa was already complete. The second inscription is the most important from the site. It mentions the gift of an official of King Siri Sivamaka

18. Catalogue Nos. 85-7.

19. Catalogue No. 87.

20. Mackenzie. Pl. 82.

21. Catalogue Nos. 43-6. Also the frieze which shows young men carrying the garland (Catalogue Nos. 78-80). Pieces from the same group are illustrated by Burgess, 1887. Pls. xx-xxii, xxiv, xxv, xxvi, 5 and 6, xxvii, 1-4, xxviii, 1, 2 and 5.

22. Catalogue Nos. 89-92. Pieces from same group are illustrated by Burgess, 1887. Pls. xxiii, xxvi, 1, 3 and 4.

23. Sivaramamurti, 1942, p. 283, No. 51. If Gopalachari's chronology is accepted the dates given here should be set back some twenty-five years.

24. It is possible that the complete rail was erected plain, and carved as contributions were made.

Sada,²⁵ who has been here identified with Śivaskanda Sātakarni and dated about A.D. 167 to 174.²⁶ This inscription is carved on a fragment of the rail-coping which belongs to what is here called the Middle Phase.²⁷ This phase of the mature style was then already established in the third quarter of the 2nd century A.D. As has already been indicated, the Late Phase in its final development comes very close in decorative and figure carving to the style of Nāgārjunikonda. Unfortunately the stūpas at Nāgārjunikonda which are fairly securely dated, i.e., the Mahācaitya and possibly stūpa 5, are plain; while those which are richly decorated – 2, 3, 6 and 9 – are undated. However, the inscriptions show that the great period of building activity was during the reigns of Mātharīputra Virapurushadatta and, to a lesser extent, of his successor Ehuva Śāntamūla II. Virapurushadatta's reign occupies roughly the third quarter of the 3rd century A.D., and this or a little earlier may reasonably be accepted as the date of the decorated stūpas. It is therefore assumed that at Amarāvati creative work on any scale did not long survive the fall of the Sātavāhanas. Indeed, so closely is the Nāgārjunikonda style related to the latest work at Amarāvati, that it is possible that the masons themselves moved to the capital of the succeeding dynasty, the Ikshvākus. The transition from the Middle to the Late Phase may be placed about the end of the 2nd century A.D.²⁸

To determine the beginning of the mature style it is necessary to go to the north-west Deccan. At Nāsik, on the end walls of the verandah of Cave III, the famous Gautamīputra Cave, are carved pilasters identical in general design, though simpler in detail, with Types 1 and 2 of the pillars at Amarāvati.²⁹ Also on the frieze above the verandah is a representation in little of an Amarāvati rail, with similar pillars, three lotus cross-bars and a coping of looped garlands without supporters.³⁰ The exact date of the Gautamīputra Cave is a vexed question, but it was certainly dedicated by Queen Balaśrī in the nineteenth year of her grandson, Śrī Pulumāvi, which according to the chronology adopted here is about A.D. 149.³¹ Whether the more elaborate

25. Sivaramamurti, 1942, p. 291, No. 72.

26. E. J. Rapson, *Catalogue of Coins of Andhra Dynasty*, London, 1908, p. 111, No. 19, prefers Śiva Śrī. This makes little difference.

27. Burgess, 1887, Pl. XXVII, i.

28. See Appendix.

29. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Archéologie du Sud de l'Inde*, Paris, 1914, Tome I, Pl. IX.

30. J. Fergusson and J. Burgess, *The Cave Temples of India*, London, 1880, Pl. XXII.

31. The Cave was presumably started immediately after Nahapāna's defeat about A.D. 124 and almost certainly in emulation of Ushavādāta's Cave (Cave X), which was dedicated in A.D. 120, if it is accepted that the Kshiharātis dated in the Śaka Era. It is surely not unreasonable to allow thirty years for the excavation of such an elaborate cave. It may be that the 'decoration' was left to the very last; it may not have been completed in the nineteenth year of Pulumāvi, if the village granted by that king was not for the painting but the sculptural decoration of the Cave. (E. Senart, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, 1905-6, p. 64.)

detail of the Amarāvati pillars makes them later than the Nāsik pilasters, it is difficult to say, for there are no other examples in the north-west Deccan.³² That a progression from simple to more elaborate represents a chronological sequence is a dangerous principle, except where there is a large body of material and that from the same locality. Nor is it possible to say whether this type of pillar was a creation of the Amarāvati sculptor – it was certainly brought to a higher pitch of elaboration in the Andhradeśa than elsewhere in India – or adopted by him in its simplest form from the north-west Deccan.³³ It is however possible to say that the Nāsik pilasters and Types 1 and 2 of the Amarāvati pillars are roughly contemporary, and that the latter may be dated to the second quarter of the 2nd century A.D. This is the period when the Andhradeśa became a part of the Sātavāhana empire, and we may believe that this was, if not the cause of, at least an important factor in the tremendous outburst of creative activity which filled the Andhradeśa with religious monuments. Four generations, roughly from A.D. 125 to A.D. 240, seem quite sufficient to cover the development of the style of those parts of the rail already discussed, once it is appreciated how closely the several manners tread upon each other's heels. Indeed, the decorative elements of one are so closely interwoven with those of the rest, that it would be possible to accept the types leading up to the Middle Phase as contemporary products of different workshops.³⁴ Though the formal series made here does seem to have a chronological validity, there can be little doubt that the inception, growth and flowering of the mature style was, as often in periods of great creative energy, of brief duration.

We may now return to the remaining fragments of the rail and the rest of the Stūpa and see how they fit into this chronological scheme. The fragments of coping which show the garland supported by dwarfs have been variously dated; as early as 200 to 100 B.C. and as late as A.D. 200.³⁵ (Pl. xxxix.) They are about two feet two inches high and are carved on one side only.³⁶ Bachhofer has compared the frieze of

32. It is perhaps worth noting that the flutes on pillars type 1 and 2 are never fully rounded as on the Nāsik pilasters. Pilasters with the foliate-wave motif make a single appearance in the north-west Deccan in Cave XIII at Kānheri. (James Burgess and Bhagwanlal Indraji. *Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India*. Bombay, 1881. Pl. xxviii, Fig. 5.) This does not, however, help our chronology, since there is no internal evidence for the dating of this cave. In any case, the Kānheri pilasters may well be copies of the Amarāvati pillars.

33. This simple type appears – rarely – at Mathurā, probably in the 2nd century A.D. (V. S. Agrawala. *Handbook of Sculptures in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology*, Muttra, Allahabad, 1939. Pl. v, Fig. 8.)

34. They are as closely associated on the rail itself. Burgess, 1882, Nos. 184, 185 and 186 – an Early Phase upright, and Middle Phase cross-bar and upright – were found together *in situ*.

35. Sivaramamurti favours the early dating, H. Buchthal (*Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, 1942-3. London, 1944. p. 26) the late.

36. Catalogue No. 12. There is only one fragment in the Museum. The remainder, at Madras, are illustrated by Burgess, 1887, Pls. xxviii, 6, xxix, 1 and 3, xxx, 1, and xxxi, 3 and Sivaramamurti, 1942, Pl. xvii, 4.

connected flower disks drawn from the mouths of *makaras* at the bottom of some of the fragments with identical ornament on pillars of Type 2.³⁷ On certain fragments this ornament is replaced by the square rosette common in all phases of the mature style.³⁸ The type of lotus is that found on the cross-bars of Type 1. The 'early' appearance of these pieces is due simply to their shallow cutting; otherwise the style is assured. They are found, as has already been indicated, exclusively in the south-west and north-west quadrants, mostly in the latter, closely associated with pillars and cross-bars of Type 1.³⁹ It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that they belong together, forming one unit plain on the outer face, and were an integral part of the rail in its final form.⁴⁰ This type of coping may therefore be dated to the second quarter of the 2nd century A.D.

Finally, there is the coping with young men and animals.⁴¹ (Pl. xxxviii.) This type is about two feet high and is again plain on one face. There has been general agreement that it dates before 50 B.C. The frieze at the top of the slabs is filled with a scroll vomited by a dwarf; in its even curves are birds and carefully observed flowers and foliage. The treatment may be compared with that on a pillar in the Museum (Pl. ixb, c and d), which also shares with the coping the egg and dart ornament⁴² and the strange semi-circular and oval forms which protrude into the field of the main design. The style of the decorative carving on the pillar and the coping is that of Type 2 of the rail pillars. Now, Sivaramamurti considered the men and animals coping and the dwarf coping to be contemporary,⁴³ and when the style of the figures on the former is compared with those on the latter, and both with the dwarf on the pillar (Pl. ixc), there can be little doubt that this is so. These two types of coping, then, represent the figure carving, as the rail pillars of Types 1 to 3 represent the decorative carving, of the Early Phase of the mature style. The fragments of the men and animals coping are again found in the north-west and south-west quadrants,⁴⁴

37. Burgess, 1887. Pl. x, i. This motif persisted into the Middle Phase (Burgess, 1887. Pls. xi, 2, and xii, 3, and Bachhofer, *op. cit.* Pl. 119).

38. Burgess, 1887. Pls. xxix, i, xxx, i, and xxxi, 3.

39. In the north-west quadrant, Burgess, 1882, Nos. 105, 106, 122, 127 and 128; in the south-west, Burgess, 1882, Nos. 2b and 45.

40. One or perhaps two fragments (Sewell, 1880, No. 22 and possibly No. 43) of another coping have survived, identical with the type under consideration except that in place of the dwarf supporters are two hanging lotus buds: in fact, the coping represented in little in the Gautamiputra cave at Nāsik. This gives additional support to the dating accepted here. To the Middle Phase belongs a small coping - one foot three inches high - with dwarfs and garland. (Burgess, 1887. Pl. xxxi, i.)

41. Catalogue Nos. 9-11. Burgess, 1887. Pls. xxx, 2-3, and xxxi, 4.

42. The egg and dart ornament makes a single appearance in the Middle Phase on the one rail pillar whose outer face is not carved with the dwarfs. (Burgess, 1887. Pl. xiii, 1-2.)

43. Though, of course, early.

44. In the north-west quadrant, Burgess, 1882, Nos. 89, 56b, 133, and 134; in the south-west, Burgess, 1882, Nos. 19, 73 and 29b. The Museum pieces were presumably found about the west or north gates.

and may have formed a part of the rail in its final form.⁴⁵ The shallow cutting and clearly outlined forms of the Early Phase may be seen on several fine pieces in the Museum (Pls. XIVb, XLVII and XLVIII).

The slabs which cased the dome present few problems. They consist of two friezes, of *trishūlas* and running animals, above three panels framing a Stūpa, Wheel and Tree. (Pls. XIX and XXa.)⁴⁶ The decorative elements found on the narrow horizontal friezes which divide the panels belong to the Early and Middle Phases; the figures represent the style of the latter.⁴⁷ On a few pieces the scene of the Enlightenment is represented by the Buddha seated under the Tree.⁴⁸

It has here been suggested that the slightly larger slabs, in three registers, also cased the dome behind the *āyaka*-platforms. (Pls. XV-XVII.)⁴⁹ The lower group is always shown as standing on a rail, which is a replica of the outer face of what has here been called the early rail, that is, with plain coping and cross-bars and early pillars. The style is of the Middle Phase, and is particularly interesting because the Amarāvati sculptor is seen so rarely working on this more monumental scale. A frieze of seated Buddha figures appears on one piece (Pl. XV) and a standing Buddha figure appeared in Mackenzie's day on a slab now in the Museum.⁵⁰

On the surviving fragments two types of stūpa are represented. The first, which has neither rail nor *āyaka*-platform (Pl. I), will be dealt with later. The second, which is found on the slabs which cased the drum, is similar in construction to the Amarāvati Stūpa itself. (Pls. II-IV.) It is shown in various forms, and with increasing degrees of elaboration. The simplest⁵¹ (Pl. IIIb) has an undecorated dome, except for a stucco collar, a rail pattern for the drum frieze, and the drum left plain, except for the coiled Nāga on the *āyaka*-platform. The cross-bars of the rail are of a type which seems not

45. The motif of men taming animals is not common in early Indian sculpture outside Amarāvati. It is found in a modified form in the Gautamiputra Cave at Nāsik. Dwarfs playing with animals appear on the benches at the back of the hall of Cave VI at Kūdā. The writer has not seen the cave, but the *mithuna* panels at the back of the hall do not seem to be earlier than the 2nd century A.D. The closest parallel is perhaps the painted frieze in Cave IX at Ajantā, which the writer considers to be also of the 2nd century A.D. There is in the Museum an unpublished Gandhāra frieze with the same motif. The appearance of this motif at the Ananta-Gumphā and Rānī-Gumphā Caves at Khandagiri-Udayagiri is, in the opinion of the writer, due to the influence of the art of the Andhradeśa.

46. Catalogue Nos. 59-69. Other pieces are illustrated by Burgess, 1887, Pls. XLVI, XLVII, 3-4, and XLVIII, 1-3.

47. It is interesting to note that a piece of coping of the Middle Phase (Sivaramamurti, 1942, p. 290, No. 69) bears the name of Budharakhita, the *navakamaka* of the *vedikā* or 'comptroller of works' for the rail. A man of the same name donated a dome slab (Sivaramamurti, 1942, p. 278, No. 33), but he is here called a *mahānavakamaka* or 'officer of works'. This may show that the dome slab is rather later than the coping, but Budharakhita was a common name.

48. The Buddha Image at Amarāvati is discussed in the Appendix.

49. Catalogue Nos. 70-4. Other pieces are illustrated by Burgess, 1887, Pl. II, 4, and Sivaramamurti, 1942, Pls. XIX, I, and XXII, 2.

50. Catalogue No. 73.

51. Catalogue No. 31.

to have survived. The stūpa is usually flanked by dwarfs and young men.⁵² The second form (Pl. IIIa) has the usual type of rail, a more elaborate dome collar and drum frieze, and the drum itself decorated with pilasters at intervals.⁵³ The third form is similar to the second but with carved slabs on the curve of the dome.⁵⁴ In the final form the drum also is cased with carved slabs (Pls. II and IV). It is commonly said that the most elaborate forms of drum slab are rather later in date than the rail. If the stylistic sequence proposed here is accepted, it would be more accurate to say that the most elaborate slabs are contemporary with the last phase of the rail, giving an excellent impression, though by no means accurate in detail, of the Stūpa in its final grandeur in the years immediately following A.D. 200. The third form may also be considered to belong to the Late Phase. An example of the second form, on a drum slab in three registers, has a flowered scroll which although late still retains the regularity and careful cutting of the Middle Phase.⁵⁵ Another example (Pl. IIIa) is carved on the back of a Type 2 rail pillar. Of two slabs of this type drawn by Mackenzie's draughtsmen, one however seems to belong to the Late Phase, while the Buddha Image appears on the other.⁵⁶ We may assume that the second form belongs to the end of the Middle and beginning of the Late Phases. The first form, judging from the style of the figures which flank the Stūpa, belongs to the Middle Phase. It has been already suggested that other types of slab were interspersed with the representations of the Stūpa (Pls. VI and VII); certain of them were perhaps used to give emphasis to the āyaka-platforms.⁵⁷ They belong to the Middle Phase.

Several of the many types of pilaster which divided the drum slabs are here illustrated. (Pls. VIII and IXa.) They are contemporary with the most ornate drum slabs, those which show the Four Great Miracles being somewhat later than those carved with the Wheel above the empty Throne; the former come very close to the Nāgārjunikonda style. One important type of spacer, which shows a woman standing under a *torana*, has unfortunately not survived.⁵⁸

The drum friezes also are contemporary with the latest drum slabs. (Pls. X-XIVa.) The examples in which the scenes are divided by pilasters come, however, at the very

52. Burgess, 1887, Pl. XXXVI, 1, illustrates a slab drawn by Mackenzie, which came from the south-west quadrant of the 'inner circle'.

53. Catalogue Nos. 52 and 93. Two pieces drawn by Mackenzie's draughtsmen, however, show the drum also decorated with carved slabs. (Burgess, 1887, Pls. XXXVI, 2, and XXXVIII, 2.)

54. Catalogue Nos. 94-6.

55. Catalogue No. 52.

56. Burgess, 1887, Pls. XXXVI, 2, and XXXVIII, 2. For the appearance of the Buddha Image at the very end of the Middle Phase see Appendix.

57. Catalogue Nos. 53 and 54 and perhaps 75 and 76. There are two other varieties of drum slab, in two (Burgess, 1887, Pl. XXXVIII, 3) and in three (Catalogue No. 52) registers.

58. Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXXXV illustrates two of Mackenzie's drawings.

end of the Amarāvati style.⁵⁹ It is interesting to note that on the narrow moulding above the row of lion protomes, appears the young men and animals motif rendered with detail and vivacity on a miniature scale. (Pls. x and xi.)

So far we have been dealing with the mature Amarāvati style and with pieces which are generally accepted as belonging to it, though not perhaps as showing the progression of style as suggested here. The only candidates for an early, that is a 2nd or early 1st century B.C. dating, have been the two forms of rail-coping which are plain on one face. The remainder of the 'early' fragments may now be examined.

In discussing the drum slabs, it has been shown that generally only the most ornate show the drum of the Stūpa fully cased with sculptured slabs; on the simpler versions the drum is usually decorated with pilasters at intervals, the *āyaka*-platforms alone being fully carved. This latter method, of decorating the *āyaka*-platforms only, persisted to the end of the style, and is found in the 3rd century A.D. and later at Nāgārjunikonda and Goli. Indeed, apart from Amarāvati, it is not certain that the drums of any of the great stūpas were completely cased with sculptured slabs. Moreover, it seems probable that the drum of the Amarāvati Stūpa itself was in the first instance decorated in the simpler manner; and that it was not until the Middle and Late Phases that the earlier slabs were replaced, or reversed and recarved with the representations of the Stūpa and the other scenes already mentioned. Perhaps the most important evidence for this is a slab in the Museum (Pl. v), which bears on its other face one of the finest and most elaborate representations of the Stūpa (Pl. iv). It shows the Enlightenment of the Buddha – a Tree, under which is set the Throne and Footprints, with adoring figures and *kimaras*, half-man, half-bird, bearing offerings. Below is the ubiquitous rail-pattern, and down the left side runs a pilaster. On the shaft of the pilaster is carved a female figure standing on a *makara*, and above the bell capital stand addorsed lions.⁶⁰ It may safely be assumed that this piece faced an *āyaka*-platform. There are several other fragments in the same style at Madras and at the sculpture shed at Amarāvati,⁶¹ though none seem to be palimpsests. There are also several examples of slabs left plain, except for a pilaster up one side; here the shaft of the pilaster is similar in design to the earliest type of rail pillar. The most famous of these is the fine drum slab in Madras, on the back surface of which, according to Dr Benza,⁶² 'was sculp-

59. Compare Pl. xiii with the same scene on stūpa 3 at Nāgārjunikonda (M.A.S.I. No. 54, Pl. xxviii).

60. One half of the pilaster is cut away, but the whole may easily be inferred from other examples. A fragment of the capital of a similar pilaster is in the Museum (Catalogue No. 16).

61. The most important are Sivaramamurti, 1942, Pls. xiv, 4, xv, 1, xvi, 1 and 3, and A.R.A.S.I., 1908-9, Pls. xxxd and xxxa-c, and e.

62. Burgess, 1887, Pl. 1, *The Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, Vol. v, 1835. We must be grateful to Dr Benza for this information, since the slab has been cemented to the wall of the Madras Museum since about 1884.

tured a reversed column, the pedestal turned upwards, and the capital downwards.' The most important is the great slab, thirteen feet long, which was discovered by Sewell.⁶³ It is divided by two pilasters into three plain panels.⁶⁴ There are also fragments of similar slabs crowned by a frieze, which consists of scenes of the adoration of the Tree, Wheel and Stūpa, separated by a rail pattern.⁶⁵ Separate friezes of identical form are also found.⁶⁶

It is often assumed that these slabs and friezes decorated the Stūpa, when its form was different from, and its dimensions smaller than, the Great Stūpa, as we know it. That there can be no evidence for this will be obvious from the history of the discovery of the site. That it was not so is supported by the fact that the stūpa at Bhattiprolu, though but little smaller than the Amarāvati Stūpa, retained its original simple decoration in 'early' style, and may therefore be considered to have retained also its original dimensions and form. This does not of course prevent certain of the 'early' slabs from having cased other stūpas at Amarāvati. Now there was another type of stūpa in the Andhradeśa. It is small, and may be rock-cut or structural, and simply or elaborately decorated. Its proportions are frequently different from those of the Great Stūpa and it had no āyaka-platforms.⁶⁷ (Pl. 1.) It is commonly found in the north-west Deccan, but there is no evidence that in the Andhradeśa it preceded the other form; they seem to have existed alongside each other into the 3rd century A.D. This second type of stūpa is frequently represented on the fragments. There are two good examples in the Museum. The first, a drum slab (Pl. 1b), is of a fairly common type, which by comparison with similar slabs with figures may be dated to the Middle Phase.⁶⁸ The second is presumably earlier than the companion piece (Pl. 1a). A close parallel is the stūpa on a *caitya-khamba* set up at the southern gate of the Stūpa.⁶⁹ On the left edge of the Museum's slab is cut part of a circular pavilion almost identical

63. Sewell, 1880, No. 16; Burgess, 1887, Pl. XLIX, 5 and 6. This splendid piece now serves as a bridge across the bed of the stream, which traverses the site of the Stūpa.

64. At the base of some of the slabs is a frieze of geese. Burgess, 1887, Pl. XLIX, 8.

65. Burgess, 1887, Pls. II, i and 3, and XIV, 2.

66. A.R.A.S.I. 1905-6, Pl. XLVIII, i, and Catalogue No. 17.

67. There is one small group of fragments which may belong to such a stūpa, which, at least in rock-cut examples, had a tall drum. These slabs had a pilaster down one side and were crowned by half-lotuses, a rail-pattern and *trishūlas*. (A.R.A.S.I., 1905-6, Pl. XLVII, 3, and possibly A.R.A.S.I., 1908-9, Pl. XXXI, a, b and c.) The Museum possesses such a fragment (Catalogue No. 18) which was recarved as a *Buddhapāda* in the Early Phase. In the opinion of the writer the re-cutting followed fairly smartly upon the original carving.

68. Catalogue No. 49. Burgess, 1887, Pl. XI, 2 (there is a certain amount of re-cutting on this slab). Other examples are Burgess, 1887, Pls. XLIV, 2, and XXXII, 5. This type appears frequently on fragments of rail coping of the Middle Phase.

69. Burgess, 1887, Pl. XIV, 1. The closest parallel, indeed, the representation of a wellnigh identical stūpa, is on the outer face of a Middle Phase rail coping. (Bachhofer, *op. cit.* Pl. 124, top.) It even has the lotus pilasters with adorned animal capitals. This seems, however, to be the only example in the Middle Phase.

with another face of the same *caitya-khamba*.⁷⁰ Sivaramamurti has accepted the date of the *caitya-khamba* as about A.D. 100. According to the chronology proposed here, it would belong to the Early Phase and would be some three or four decades later. This dating is perhaps supported by a comparison of the Museum's piece with the representation of a similar stūpa on the back of Gautamīputra's Cave at Nāsik, which has here been dated to the 2nd quarter of the 2nd century A.D.⁷¹ It seems reasonable to place the Museum's slab with its more elaborate arrangement of the umbrellas, its dome collar, pilasters and representations of Tree, Nāga and Wheel, somewhat later than the Nāsik relief. If this is found acceptable, the Museum's slab will help to date the plain 'early' slabs, for the pilasters on both are, except for certain variations in detail, identical. Moreover, a separate frieze in the Museum, of exactly the same type as those which are carved in one piece with the plain slabs, is cut on a split and re-used pillar of the Early Phase, and is not therefore likely to be earlier than the very end of that Phase.⁷² Indeed, when these friezes are set beside other small friezes, which are generally accepted as belonging to the mature Amarāvati style, and which are here attributed to the Middle Phase,⁷³ there can be no doubt that they are separated by a small interval of time.

It may be asked whether the plain slabs with friezes and pilasters necessarily carry with them the sculptured slabs, on the pilasters of which, at Amarāvati at least, a female figure is carved. It is however acknowledged by every authority that the two form one stylistic group, and there seems to be no reason to separate them from each other,⁷⁴ or from the early rail-copings. Unfortunately, though the Museum piece (Pl. v) is the most complete example of the style, its surface has gone, and the sharpness

70. Burgess, 1887, Pl. xlv, 3. On Pl. 1 (a) the edge of the Museum's slab is shown larger in proportion to the face. The right edge has also been worked, though it is now impossible to distinguish the subject. There can be little doubt that this slab is a slice from the base of a large pillar similar to one in Madras (Burgess, 1887, Pl. xlv, 2), with the dimensions of which it seems to agree. The Madras pillar has sometimes been accepted as an *āyaka*-pillar, which it may well be.

71. The best published illustration seems to be R. S. Wauchope, *Buddhist Cave Temples of India*, Calcutta, 1933, Pl. xxxiv. The relief in Ushavadāta's Cave (x) would perhaps have been an equally good parallel had it not been re-cut. This latter cave, according to the present writer, was dedicated in Śaka 42, that is, A.D. 120.

72. Catalogue Nos. 17 and 23. The interval between the original carving and re-cutting of a piece must, of course, be assessed with caution. Some pieces, e.g. Catalogue No. 71, were re-carved immediately. Other botched slabs are unlikely to have lain about the workshop for any period, since the stone was not easy to hew or to transport. The turning and re-cutting of the drum slabs is a different case, being a renovation on a large scale. The pillar, Catalogue No. 23, is, however, a problem. It was not spoiled in the carving, since it retains part of its original dedication. It is a strange fact that almost every one of these pillars, which presumably were originally intended to support the roof of a *mandapam*, has been split vertically; in many instances decoration has been added to the plain surfaces at a later period (Catalogue Nos. 24-8).

73. E.g. Burgess, 1887, Pl. xlviii, 4, above, the cross bars of which are similar to those of our Pl. iib, and Pl. xlviii, 4, below, of which type Catalogue No. 55 is also an example.

74. Moreover, at Jaggayyapeta, where the lotus pilaster seems to be absent, male and female figures are carved on the pilasters of both types of slab.

of cutting and accurate delineation of forms now appear soft and uncertain. The true feel of the style is best obtained from the Madras fragments,⁷⁵ where it appears young and vigorous, the confident beginning of the mature Amarāvati style.

There are other sites in the Andhradeśa which share this early style. The stūpas at Bhattiprolu and Garikapād are not helpful to our enquiry, though sufficient has survived to make it certain that both were decorated in the simple manner and early style.⁷⁶ The large stūpa at Ghantaśāla is however important. It probably exhibited much the same development of style as Amarāvati, for fragments of several phases have been discovered, including a plain slab with a pilaster up one edge.⁷⁷ A fine piece from Ghantaśāla in the Musée Guimet shows a three-storied building with adorers.⁷⁸ The most important slab however is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.⁷⁹ It is carved on both faces. The palimpsest shows an elaborate stūpa similar to those on the late drum slabs at Amarāvati. On the other face is the scene of the Buddha at the Nairanjanā river; there is a fragmentary pilaster up the left-hand edge. Coomaraswamy does not indicate the provenance, but when the figures on the original face are compared with those on the slab in the Musée Guimet, there can be no doubt that it came from Ghantaśāla. Coomaraswamy gave the original face a date not earlier than the Kushān period. When it is placed alongside the slabs in the Museum which show the same scene,⁸⁰ there can be little doubt that it either antedates a little the Middle Phase at Amarāvati or was directly inspired by it to a somewhat harsher imitation. Finally there is the comparatively small stūpa at Jaggayyapeta. This stūpa also seems to have retained its early decoration, and it was not thought necessary to bring it up to date with the then prevailing style, when in the twentieth year of the Ikshvāku King Virapurushadatta (third quarter of the 3rd century A.D.), five āyaka-pillars were dedicated to the stūpa.⁸¹ The sculptured slabs reflect the Early Phase at Amarāvati, but with a difference. Coomaraswamy has emphasized their assured beauty; they seem already to pre-figure the svelte forms and elegant mannerism of the Late Phase at Amarāvati.⁸²

Such then is the history of the Amarāvati style. The style which prevailed in the

75. Burgess, 1887, Pl. 12, 2, and Sivaramamurti, 1942, Pls. xv, i, and xvi, i.

76. Neither seem to have been affected by the Middle and Late Phases at Amarāvati. For Bhattiprolu, see Rea, 1894, Pls. vii-x; for Garikapād, see Madras G. O. No. 383 P of 30 April 1889.

77. Rea, 1894, Pls. xv-xxviii and A.R.A.S.I. 1919-20, Pl. xxiii b.

78. G. Combaz, 'L'Évolution du Stūpa en Asie,' *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, Vol. 2, 1932-3, Bruxelles, 1933. Fig. 11. Combaz illustrates a drawing of the building only.

79. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, Vol. xxvii, No. 160, April 1929.

80. Pl. xxv, top fluted area, and Catalogue No. 99, which, though later, is very close in design.

81. It is perhaps permissible to ask whether this was likely during a period still vital and creative if the decoration of the stūpa was then, as all authorities have proposed, some four hundred years old.

82. Burgess, 1887, Pls. 111, 14-17, 11v, 3-7 and 1v, 1-4. The similarity in many of the elements of decoration with slabs which are generally accepted as belonging to the mature Amarāvati style is striking. Compare, for example, the elephant *mukura* (Burgess, 1887, Pl. 1v, 2) with that on a type 2 rail pillar (Burgess, 1887, Pl. x, i).

Andhradeśa during the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. has rightly been given the modern name of this ancient town, for no other site shows with such continuity and detail its inception and growth; and until we have evidence to the contrary, Amarāvati may be considered the centre of original experiment and creation in the eastern Deccan, a position which she yielded to Nāgārjunikonda some time in the second quarter of the 3rd century A.D.⁸³ To summarize our argument we may return to the great monument itself. Once the constructional work was completed, the masons commenced the decoration of the *āyaka*-platforms and the erection of the rail. The dome was plastered, but otherwise left plain except perhaps for a stucco collar, making its effect, as do the Sinhalese domes, by sheer bulk.⁸⁴ In the rail, the chief glory of the Stūpa, can be seen the swift transition from the Early to the Middle Phase as the work proceeded. The decoration of the drum in the simple manner must also have gone on into the Middle Phase. Towards the end of the Middle Phase, the spring of the dome was cased with the slabs in three registers, a task which may not have been completed until the beginning of the Late Phase. The Middle Phase also saw the beginning of the new decoration of the drum. The old slabs were replaced, or reversed and re-carved. Most of this work took place in the Late Phase; possibly it was never completed. Such in broad outline, if our analysis of style is correct, was the growth of the monument, the design of which, continually under revision, embodied the shifting aspirations and taste of little more than four generations of craftsmen.

It remains to enquire the source of the style. A deliberate attempt has here been made to explain its development, as far as possible, with reference only to itself. Stylistic comparison with the other early schools of Indian sculpture can be very misleading. We do not yet know enough to be able to distinguish the metropolitan centres from the provincial, or the primitive from the archaistic or the incompetent. At Amarāvati, and in the Andhradeśa generally, there is at least a large body of material, which, whatever is thought of the absolute chronology accepted here, seems to show within itself a swift and consistent development. The few external comparisons which have been suggested, have been made with the art of the north-west Deccan.⁸⁵ The reason is obvious. The beginning of the Amarāvati style co-

83. The Amarāvati style developed at Nāgārjunikonda, with no decline in quality, until the end of the 3rd century A.D. The stūpas at Alluri and Gummudiduru seem to belong to the Late Phase at Amarāvati or a little later. The stūpa at Goli belongs to the end of the 3rd and the 4th century A.D. Though the drum frieze shows a decline in quality, the few drum slabs discovered are exceptionally fine.

84. The writer would agree with Sivaramamurti that the pillars and cross-bars of the *harmikā* are among the earliest pieces at Amarāvati.

85. The question of Mediterranean influence on the style seems not worth discussing. There are, however, a few interesting exotics, such as the *mithuna* group in 'northern' costume (Pl. x and Burgess, 1878, Pl. XLII, 4) and the so-called Dionysus from Nāgārjunikonda (M.A.S.I. No. 34, Pl. xd). The sisters of the female figures (Burgess, 1887, Pl. XLII, 4) are, of course, on the Begram ivories (J. Hackin, *Recherches Archéologiques à Begram*, Paris, 1938, Pl. LVI, Fig. 162).

incided with the period – the second quarter of the 2nd century A.D. – when, under Pulumāvi, the Andhradeśa seems first to have been included in the Sātavāhana empire. We may believe that it was this factor which gave tremendous impetus to that economic prosperity on which the vast building schemes of the Andhradeśa were undoubtedly founded. The economic, and, indeed, the religious background, if we knew in detail what it was, would however merely explain how the creation of the Amarāvati Stūpa was made possible; they would not explain the source of the style. If the latter lay in the north-west Deccan, the present state of our knowledge will not allow us to trace the stages by which it reached Amarāvati, though paradoxically we can trace to some extent the influence of Amarāvati, or rather actual examples of its sculpture, moving westwards.⁸⁶ Also, the art of the north-west Deccan in the Sātavāhana period is notable rather for the magnificence and originality of its rock-cut architecture,⁸⁷ than for its sculpture, which is as meagre in quantity as it is unequal in quality. The sculptor of the north-west Deccan seems not to have been impelled either to illustrate the Life or Jātakas of the Buddha, or to embellish his magnificent *caityas* and *vihāras* with the splendid decorative carving of the Andhradeśa or north India. The *caitya*-hall at Kārle, the finest monument of the period, contains a fair amount of sculpture. It is unequal in quality,⁸⁸ but is very close, especially in the externals of style, such as headdress, ornaments and the treatment of drapery, to the Early Phase at Amarāvati. (Pl. v.) The sculpture on the *caitya*-halls at Bedsā and Kondāne is similar in style, less monumental perhaps, but more assured in the handling.⁸⁹ Rightly has Yazdani remarked that the style of Amarāvati evolved from this earlier phase of Andhra art.⁹⁰ Kārle is however usually dated to the early 1st century B.C. On the upper frieze to the right of the central door is an inscription recording a grant of Ushavadāta, the son-in-law of Nahapāna, to the ascetics in the Kārle caves. Also the seventh pillar on the left of the nave was the gift of one Mitadevanaka, son of Ushavadāta. If this latter Ushavadāta was also the son-in-law of Nahapāna, Kārle might be dated to the first quarter of the 2nd century A.D. or somewhat later.⁹¹ If

86. A map of the many Buddhist sites in Hyderabad awaiting investigation is given in H. Rama Rao, *Numismatic Series No. 2*, Hyderabad Museum, 1949. Pieces of Amarāvati sculpture have been found at Pānigiri (*Deccan Chronicle, New Year Supplement*, 1947: Figs. 3 and 4), Kondāpur, Trimalgiri (two splendid unpublished torsos in the Government Museum, Hyderabad), and Ter (A.R.A.S.I. 1902-3: Pl. xxix). The influence of the Amarāvati style is apparent on the Kondāpur terracottas.

87. Nothing is known of the decoration of the few structural stūpas discovered in the north-west Deccan.

88. G. Yazdani, *History of the Deccan*, Vol. 1, Part viii, *Fine Arts*, Oxford University Press, 1952. Pls. xxiv, xxv and lxx. Compare the fully realized forms of Pl. lxxa with the clumsy treatment of the female figure in Pl. lxxb.

89. G. Yazdani, *op. cit.* Pls. iib, iv, v and xxiii.

90. G. Yazdani, *op. cit.* p. 33. He would not, of course, agree with the dating proposed here.

91. It is strange that in the second inscription Ushavadāta is mentioned without protocols. Nevertheless, Ushavadāta is an uncommon name.

this is not acceptable, the cave must be dated by style. This will, however, lead to the same conclusion. It has frequently been observed that the large *mithuna* groups at Kārle show the same development of style as the Kushān art of Mathurā. Again, Kārle is always – and rightly – compared in purity of architectural style with Cave x at Nāsik, Nahapāna's Cave, dedicated according to the chronology accepted here in A.D. 120.⁹² We may consider then the *caitya*-hall at Kārle as just preceding the beginning of the Early Phase at Amarāvati, to which it contributed in the treatment of the human figure.⁹³

Though poor in sculpture, the north-west Deccan was rich in painting, and sufficient has survived in Caves ix and x at Ajantā to indicate its quality and style. The dates given to these paintings, largely on epigraphic grounds, seem at once too early and too late. The left wall of Cave x is dated about 100 B.C. the left and end walls of Cave ix to about the second half of the first century B.C., and the Shad-danta Jātaka on the right wall of Cave x probably not earlier than the 3rd century A.D.⁹⁴ If, however, we are impressed less by epigraphy than by the impact of the style, there can be little doubt that the Shad-danta Jātaka painting in Cave x is the pictorial equivalent of the sculpture of the Middle Phase at Amarāvati. It is inconceivable that the painting on the left wall of Cave x is three hundred years earlier than the Shad-danta Jātaka. Surely not more than a generation separated them from each other, or both from the early paintings of Cave ix. Yazdani rightly compares the paintings on the left wall of Cave x with the sculptures of Kārle and Kondāne. That both should be a century earlier than the mature art of Sāñchi would make it impossible to interpret the development of the early art of India.⁹⁵

However, even if it is admitted that the style of the small body of sculpture from the north-west Deccan is reflected in that of the Early Phase at Amarāvati, and that the elaborate composition and development in the treatment of the human figure seen in the early Ajantā paintings is paralleled by the sculpture of the Middle Phase, the source of Sātavāhana art of the 2nd century A.D. still remains a problem. The answer surely is the mature style of Sāñchī; that is, the sculpture of the *toranas* of Stūpas i and iii and the 'late' pillars of the railing of Stūpa ii. Nor is it unreasonable to

92. If Gopalachari's chronology is accepted, Kārle and Cave x at Nāsik will date from the last quarter of the 1st century A.D.

93. For some reason sculpture in the north-west Deccan showed a marked decline during the course of the 2nd century A.D., if we may judge from Cave iii at Nāsik and from the *caitya*-hall at Kāñheri. The latter cave certainly dates from the second half of the century.

94. G. Yazdani, *op. cit.* pp. 48-51.

95. H. R. Ray has recently proposed a date about A.D. 100 for the early paintings in both caves at Ajantā. (*The History and Culture of the Indian People. The Age of Imperial Unity*, Ed. R. C. Majumdar, Bombay, 1951, pp. 529-30.) He seems also to recognize their affinity with Amarāvati and Sāñchī.

look in this direction. Sānchī lay close to Vidiśā, the capital of Avanti, which once certainly, under Gautamīputra, formed part of the Sātavāhana Empire, and may have done so earlier under a King Sātakarni, the foreman of whose artisans donated the top cross-bar of the south *torana* of Stūpa i. It is not too much to say that the Early Phase at Amarāvati, so far as we can judge it from the relatively few surviving fragments, derives all the elements of its style from Sānchī.⁹⁶ If the chronology proposed here for the Amarāvati style were unacceptable, it would still be impossible to put the Early Phase before Sānchī. The mature art of Sānchī is usually placed in the second half of the 1st century B.C. There are two dissident opinions. Bachhofer held that the late pillars of Stūpa ii belonged to the first half of the 2nd century A.D.,⁹⁷ and Madame Bénisti believes that the *torana* of Stūpa iii belongs to the last quarter of the 1st century or later.⁹⁸ The sole evidence for the dating of the mature art of Sānchī, apart from the style of the sculptures, is the inscription already mentioned. If this Sātakarni were Sātakarni i, he would, according to our chronology, have reigned during the first quarter or first half of the 1st century A.D., according as we accept eighteen or fifty-six as the years of his reign. If there were a second King of that name who reigned for fifty-six years, the end of his reign would have to be placed about A.D. 80 or later. It is sufficient to say that the inscription itself does not prevent us from dating what is generally considered to be the earliest of the *toranas* anywhere in the first three quarters of the 1st century A.D.⁹⁹ The style demands a date as close as is compatible with other evidence to the Early Phase at Amarāvati, and, indeed, to the earlier paintings in Caves ix and x at Ajantā. If the Early Phase at Amarāvati is dated to the second quarter of the 2nd century A.D.,¹⁰⁰ then Bachhofer's date for the late pillars of Stūpa ii, generally accepted as the latest examples of the mature Sānchī style, is not unreasonable. It is not likely that the earliest example of that style, the south *torana* of Stūpa i, is much more than fifty years earlier. Thus Sānchī, though not perhaps a Sātavāhana monument in the strictest sense, may be considered to be the example which made possible the rapid growth of the art of the Andhradeśa in the 2nd century A.D.

96. The case cannot be argued here in detail, but compare isolated motifs, e.g. the man with flower (Sir John Marshall. *The Monuments of Sānchī*. Calcutta, 1942. Pl. 1a) with Burgess, 1887, Pl. 11, 2, or the dwarf Atlantes (Sir John Marshall. *op. cit.* Pl. LVII) with Burgess, 1887, Pl. XLIX, 5, or the flower scrolls (Sir John Marshall. *op. cit.* Pl. 1b and c) with our Pls. 1xb-d and XXXVIII.

97. Bachhofer. *op. cit.* p. 61.

98. It is hoped that words are not being placed in Madame Bénisti's mouth. She considers that the pillars of the rail of Stūpa iii are contemporary with the pilasters in Cave iii at Nāsik (Mireille Bénisti. *Le Médailleur Lotiforme dans la Sculpture Indienne*. Paris, 1952. p. 28). Though she makes no claims for an absolute chronology, it is, however, fair to say that no historian would place the cave and its decoration earlier than A.D. 75. Here, of course, it is dated in the second quarter of the 2nd century A.D.

99. It is not, of course, impossible that the Sātakarni of Sānchī is the great Gautamīputra himself.

100. Or the first quarter, if Gopalachari's chronology is accepted.

Appendix: The Buddha Image at Amarāvati

IN the Early Phase at Amarāvati the presence of the Buddha and the Four Great Miracles are expressed by those symbols which were common currency at Sāncī. They may be seen on the *caitya-khamba* in the Museum (Pl. ix, c and d). The Birth is symbolized by lotuses springing from a vase and by a Lion-crowned Pillar;¹ the Enlightenment by the Tree, beneath which is sometimes placed a Throne and Footprints; the First Sermon by a Wheel-crowned Pillar; and the Death or Mahāparinirvāna by a Stūpa, often with attending worshippers. The Footprints or *Buddhapāda* are commonly found (Pl. XLVII), as is the *triśūla* emblem.² The sculptured scenes on the *āyaka*-platforms seem also to have celebrated the Great Miracles, as far as one can judge from the few remaining fragments. Important is the early emphasis on the Cakravarti or Universal Monarch at Jaggayyapeta.

In the Middle Phase the symbols, to which was added the Pillar of Fire, were occasionally replaced by the Buddha image. There are three certain examples of this, on the dome slabs, in the scene of the Temptation or Enlightenment. In all three the Buddha is shown seated on a Throne, His head and *ushnīsha* covered with short curly hair and surrounded by a halo; in two instances the Tree is also represented, and once at least the footprints are added before the Throne, as if the artist was not satisfied that the image was really an adequate substitute for the symbol. In this latter instance the Buddha sits in *sattvaparyanka āsana* with relaxed feet, His right shoulder and feet are uncovered, and His left hand is in the *dhyāna mudrā* with a fold of the robe falling over the left forearm, while the right hand is held away from the body and at shoulder level in the manner of the *abhaya mudrā* of the Mathurā *kapardin* type of image.³ The second example is similar but the right hand is held in the centre of the chest.⁴ In the third example He is seated in true *sattvaparyanka āsana*, the right hand is held before

1. The female figure flanked by elephants, if correctly interpreted as symbolical of the Birth, does not appear at Amarāvati, though it is common at Sāncī.

2. Compare Catalogue No. 18 with Sir John Marshall, *op. cit.* Pl. XXXVIIA.

3. Burgess, 1887. Pl. XLVI, 1. The term *sattvaparyanka āsana* has been convincingly applied to the seated position in which the legs are placed one upon the other, the sole of the right foot being visible, by M. T. de Mallmann. *Introduction à l'Étude d'Avalokiteśvara*. Paris, 1948. pp. 258-260. This *āsana*, occasionally found in North India, is used throughout South India for seated Buddha and Bodhisattva images in place of the *vajraparyanka āsana*. The first appearance of the *sattvaparyanka āsana* is, of course, at Amarāvati.

4. Burgess, 1887. Pl. XLVI, 2.

the right breast, and both shoulders are covered with the robe.⁵ These are the only certain examples of the Buddha image during the Middle Phase,⁶ and since the image is found only in the scene of the Enlightenment and not in all three Great Miracles, as it is in similarly designed pilasters of the Late Phase, it is fair to assume that these three figures represent the first essays in the Buddha image at Amarāvati. Since all three types of image are numerous in the Late Phase, it is probable that the three examples already described lie at the very end of the Middle Phase. The introduction of the Buddha image at Amarāvati would then date from about the last two decades of the 2nd century A.D.

It would not seem difficult to determine the source from which the Amarāvati sculptor derived his seated Buddha image. It was presumably not the north-west Deccan, for the Buddha image is not found there during the Sātavāhana period, in spite of the fact that the Caityikas, the Mahāsaṅghika sect to which the Great Stūpa belonged, had also an establishment at Nāsik. At Mathurā however, if the convincing account of Madame Lohuizen is accepted,⁷ during the second and third quarters of the 2nd century A.D. the sculptors were slowly modifying their own *kapardin* Buddha with iconographical elements drawn from the image of Gandhāra, finally creating about A.D. 180 a new type of image, with short curly hair, feet and right shoulder uncovered, and with the left hand holding up a fold of the robe. Though the Amarāvati version of this new type does not appear until the Late Phase, the Buddha images on the dome slabs show exactly the same stage of development and are used alongside the new type in the Late Phase. There is thus substantial agreement between the chronology suggested here for Amarāvati and that proposed by Madame Lohuizen for Mathurā.

Few, however, if any, of the Amarāvati images of the Middle and Late Phases are identical with those of Mathurā, though it must be admitted that comparison is made more difficult by the fact that the Buddha image is rare in the surviving examples of the art of Mathurā of the late 2nd and 3rd centuries. It would be possible to argue that the Amarāvati sculptor derived little more than the idea of making an image from Mathurā, doing so, of course, at the very moment that the latter school was

5. Burgess, 1887. Pl. xxviii, 3. The *bhūmisparśa mudrā*, common in the North, is not found at Amarāvati. Nor is the *dharma-cakra mudrā*, which, in any case, does not seem to appear in the North until the late 3rd century A.D. There is one instance of the *vitarka mudrā* (Pl. xxxix – the seated Buddha).

6. On one of the slabs in three registers with large figures, of the Middle Phase, there is a narrow frieze of seated Buddhas, similar again to the first example, except that the left hand is held at the shoulder and gathers up a wide fold of the robe (Pl. xv). These figures were however cut in the Late Phase over a frieze of birds, one of which, mistaken by Mackenzie's draughtsman for a tree, may be seen on the extreme left. Two other slabs of the Middle Phase (Catalogue No. 73 and Burgess, 1887. Pl. xxxii, 3) also seem to have been re-cut, as far as one can judge from Mackenzie's drawings: the fragments themselves are lost.

7. J. E. van Lohuizen de Leeuw. *The 'Scythian' Period*. Leiden, 1949.

devising a new type from elements drawn from its own *kapardin* Buddha and the Gandhāra image. There is, as it were, a greater naturalness about the Amarāvati image. It is less of an eikon than the image of the North. Indeed, if the short curly hair, *ushnīsha*, and halo are added to the figures of monks, which are frequently represented in the Middle Phase,⁸ the result is an Amarāvati Buddha. The monks have shaven heads and both shoulders covered with the robe, which is naturalistically rendered. A piece of rail-coping in the Museum actually seems to show the Buddha thrice as a monk, with shaven head, and without *ushnīsha* or halo.⁹ Another indication that the idea of representing the Buddha was gaining ground in the Middle Phase is the frequent appearance of the Cakravarti, who is often shown on the dome slabs with large figures in place of the Departure.¹⁰

Why the Buddha image appeared at Amarāvati at this period is a theological, or rather a religious, question which scarcely admits an answer in the present state of knowledge of early Buddhism. The image had been employed by Hinayāna sects of North India, especially, we may believe, by the Sarvāstivādins, since the third quarter of the 1st century A.D., if the early date for Kanishka is accepted.¹¹ The sudden outburst of creative activity in the Andhradeśa during the 2nd century A.D. is sometimes attributed to the inspiration of the Mahāyānist divine, Nāgārjuna. Even if we were certain of his date and his centre of activity,¹² it is doubtful whether the speculations of this great metaphysician found an echo in the work of the craftsmen. Though in many respects the Mahāsaṅghikas pointed the way to Mahāyānism, there is no sign of the latter creed in the Andhradeśa in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. Even the Bodhisattvas, Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara, frequently shown in North Indian art of the 2nd century A.D., are absent. The Buddha image at Amarāvati was carved not

8. Burgess, 1887. Pls. XII, 4, and XX, 2 (seated figures), Pl. XXVII, 1 (reclining figure) and Pl. XXXII, 3, and our Pl. XXXIV (standing figures with robes made up from rags).

9. It would be unwise to labour this point, since it is uncertain whether the interpretation of the scenes on this slab (Catalogue No. 43) is correct. It is noteworthy that neither curls, halo or *ushnīsha* appear on the seated Buddha on a rail-pillar of the Late Phase (Pl. XXXIX). The halo is occasionally absent at Nāgārjunikonda.

10. Catalogue Nos. 70 and 71. This idea persisted into the Late Phase (Catalogue No. 112). On one dome slab (Mackenzie, Pl. 45a) the Nāgarāja, who sometimes replaces the Cakravarti, has his hand uplifted in the manner of a Cakravarti.

11. If the later dates are preferred, the Buddha image in North India preceded that of Amarāvati by a few decades only. If this should be considered a reason for supporting the later dates, it must be remembered that the image was not employed in the north-west Deccan during the 2nd century A.D., even though Kushān models could be found as close as Sāncī.

12. Nāgārjuna seems to have been born in Vidarbha (Berār), and to have become chief abbot of Nālandā. He is said to have lived also in a monastery south of the capital city of Dakṣiṇa-Kośala (modern Chhattingarh) under the patronage of a Sātavāhana, probably in the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. The tradition that Nāgārjuna surrounded the Great Stūpa at Amarāvati with a rail and within it built 108 temples must surely be discounted. The sole evidence is the 16th-century Tibetan historian Tāranātha. (A. Schiefner. *Tāranātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus*. St. Petersburg, 1869, p. 71.)

to express the abstract thought of the philosopher or theologian, but to satisfy the personal adoration or *bhakti* of the common laity and the simple monk, a need displayed by the other contemporary religions of India. The absence of the image from the north-west Deccan during this period and its late adoption at Amarāvati remain problems unsolved.

In the Late Phase, though the symbols retain their validity, the Buddha is frequently represented, both before, i.e. as Bodhisattva, and after his Enlightenment. The Bodhisattva is shown in the narrative scenes as a young prince, either among his sleeping women, or riding from Kapilavastu, or accepting the homage of his charioteer. Sometimes He is shown in the latter scene seated on a throne with pendant left leg and His Halo surrounded by the Tree.¹³ On the drum spacers showing the Four Great Miracles He is occasionally represented in the scene of the Enlightenment as Bodhisattva, with left hand on the thigh and the right hand in *abhaya mudrā*, after the fashion of the *kapardin* Buddha of Mathurā¹⁴ (Pl. vmc). The figure of the Cakravartī is also so represented in the Late Phase.¹⁵ Obviously, the Bodhisattva figure was not stereotyped. It was in fact nothing more than the figure of a standing or seated prince, common in the Middle Phase,¹⁶ to which a halo has been added.

The seated Buddha types of the Middle Phase remain the most popular during the Late Phase, though the type with both shoulders covered is less common than that with one shoulder bare. An interesting variant of the former type is that on the famous drum slab at Madras, where both hands are lifted to an equal height.¹⁷ Occasionally this type has both hands in the *dhyāna mudrā*.¹⁸ The Amarāvati version of the new type of Mathurā seated figure was also widely employed. The robe either flowed downwards over the uplifted arm, or projected upwards in a stiff fold.¹⁹ The Buddha never seems actually to grasp the robe as in the Mathurā figures. The seated Buddha figure with both legs pendant, as in the later forms of Maitreya, does not seem to appear at Amarāvati, though it is present at Nāgārjunikonda. Finally, there is the form in which the Buddha is seated on the coils of the Nāga Mucilinda, His head protected by the hoods of the snake²⁰ (Pl. n). This form is rare in the early Buddhist

13. Catalogue No. 118.

14. He is also shown with both hands in *dhyāna mudrā*; with right leg pendant; and with leg pendant and right hand uplifted in the manner of a Cakravartī.

15. Burgess, 1887. Pl. v, 2.

16. Burgess, 1887. Pl. xxviii, 1.

17. Burgess, 1887. Pl. 1.

18. Burgess, 1887. Pl. xxxvii, 2.

19. The latter form is most commonly found on the narrow drum friezes (Catalogue Nos. 119 and 120, Burgess, 1887. Pl. xliii, 5-11).

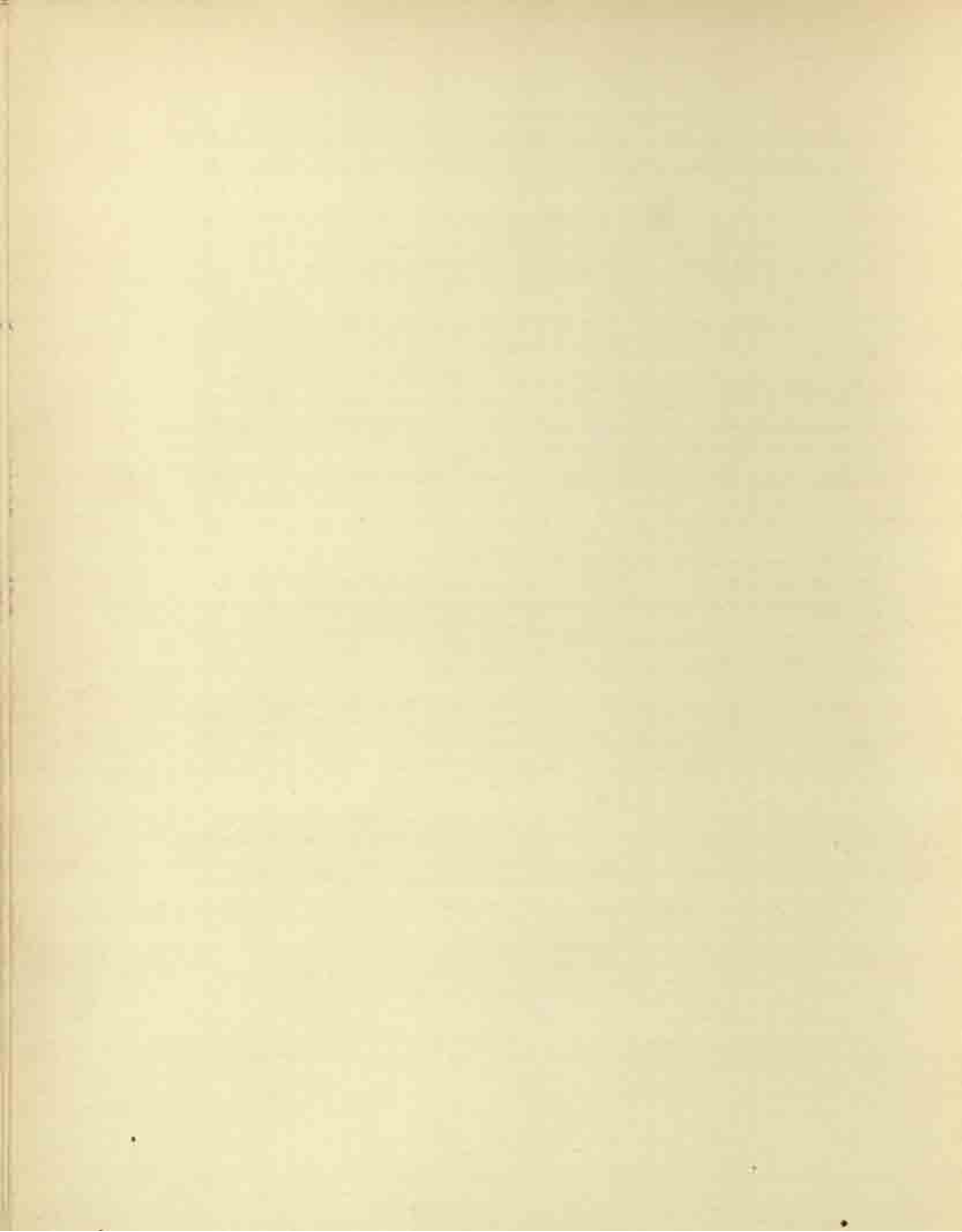
20. This scene was also rendered symbolically in the Late Phase, as it had been in the Middle Phase (Burgess, 1887. Pl. xxvi, 5).

art of Northern India, though it is common enough in the Jain art of Mathurā. The prevalence of the Nāga cult at Amarāvati probably made it especially popular there.²¹

The standing Buddha figures do not show the same variety as the seated types. In the narrative scenes the type with both shoulders covered is commonly used. The left hand holds up the long fold of the robe, the right hand is held high in the *abhaya mudrā*. (Pl. xxix.) Though it is very similar to the one possible example of a standing Buddha of the Middle Period already mentioned, the folds of the robe are now more formally rendered, and the figure as a whole comes very close to the contemporary image of Gandhāra, except of course that the hair is rendered as short curls. Whether the form was derived directly from Gandhāra or through Mathurā, it is difficult to say, owing to the rarity of the standing Buddha figure at the latter centre during this period. So naturally does it take its place alongside the seated figures that there need be in this instance no question of outside influence. The second type of standing image was an original conception of the Amarāvati sculptor. It provided a model to South India and Ceylon for many centuries. Here the right shoulder is uncovered and the robe is drawn to the left side of the body making a heavy swag at the bottom hem. The position of the hands remains the same as in the type with covered shoulders, except that the uplifted left hand is clenched but hardly seems to grasp the robe (Pl. iv – the Buddha figure on the *āyaka*-platform). When free-standing figures of the Buddha began towards the end of the Late Phase to be set up, in *caityas* and possibly round the Stūpa and in its precincts, as objects of worship, it was this type which was used almost exclusively.²²

21. The peculiar representation of the Miracle at Śrāvastī should also be mentioned (Burgess, 1887, Pl. vii, 1).

22. Burgess, 1887, Pl. lli, 1-3; A.R.A.S.I. 1905-6, Pls. 1 and 11. The one exception seems to be the figure with both shoulders covered found in the *caitya* at Guntupalle. (*Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Southern Circle, Madras*, 1916-17, Pl. xxix.)



Catalogue

Recut pieces are listed twice with the necessary cross-references. Detailed descriptions are given only when no adequate reproduction exists.

EARLY PHASE

Rail Pillars

1. British Museum No. 28; Elliot Collection No. 40. Complete in section and carved on inner face only with lotus and two half-lotuses.

Inscription: Fergusson, 1873, Pl. XCIX, No. XV; Lüders No. 1220.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 20; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LIII, 1. Height, 7' 9½": Width, 2' 5".

2. British Museum No. 24; Elliot Collection No. 39.

Complete in section and carved on inner face only with lotus and two half-lotuses.

Inscription: Fergusson, 1873, Pl. XCIX, No. IV; Lüders No. 1209.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 19 (lower section missing); Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LIII, 2.

Height, 8' 1": Width, 2' 5".

PLATE XXb.

3. British Museum No. 81; Elliot Collection No. 120. Lower part of a rail pillar with a frieze of *makaras*; a half-lotus, with three rows of petals, calyx carved with a Garuda holding a Nāga in its claws, and a lotus band; and part of the fluted area, left plain, with pots of lotuses at the corners. On the reverse is a drum slab, Catalogue No. 93.

Height, 3' 8": Width, 2' 11".

4. British Museum No. 110; Elliot Collection Nos. 136 and 137.

Lower part of a rail pillar, complete in section and carved on both faces. The outer face shows frieze of regular scrolls vomited by *makaras*; a half-lotus with four rows of petals surrounded by scrolled band; plain fluted area with foliate-wave pattern; and part of centre lotus. The inner face is similar, but there is no foliate-wave pattern on the plain fluted area.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 22 (outer face).

Height, 7' 3": Width, 2' 8".

5. British Museum No. 46; Elliot Collection Nos. 130 and 135.

Complete in section and carved on both faces. Inner face shows the Elevation of the Head-dress (upper fluted area) and the Elevation of the Begging Bowl (lower fluted area). This was the northernmost pillar in the south-east quadrant in Mackenzie's second plan (Burgess, 1887, Pl. III).

Reproduced: Mackenzie, Pl. 31 (inner face); Tripe, Pl. 38 (inner face); Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LI (both faces).

Height, 9' 2": Width, 2' 9".

Rail Cross-Bars

6. British Museum No. 25; Elliot Collection No. 46.

Complete in section and carved on inner face only with a lotus and a decorated band.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 22; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LV, 2. Diameter, 2' 4½".

7. British Museum No. 26; Elliot Collection No. 48.

Complete in section and carved on inner face only with a lotus.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 22; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LV, 3. Diameter, 2' 3½".

8. British Museum No. 27; Elliot Collection, No. 47.

Complete in section and carved on inner face only with a lotus.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 22; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LV, 1. Diameter, 2' 4½".

Rail Coping

9. British Museum No. 99; Elliot Collection, No. 58.

Incomplete in section; outer face missing. Inner face shows youths and animals.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 21; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LVII, 2. Height, 1' 11¼": Length, 5' 10".

PLATE XXXVIII.

10. British Museum Nos. 101 and 100: Elliot Collection Nos. 108 and 60.

British Museum No. 101 is complete in section. It is carved on inner face with youths and animals, and shows a bevelled edge to the plain face. British Museum No. 100 is incomplete in section: outer face missing. These two pieces belong together but are set rather too closely in Plate XXXVIIIb.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pls. 24 and 25; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LVII, 1 and 4.

Height, 1' 11": Length, 5' 3" (British Museum No. 101).

Height, 1' 11": Length, 2' 4" (British Museum No. 100).

PLATE XXXVIIIb.

11. British Museum No. 102: Elliot Collection No. 39. Incomplete in section: outer face missing. Inner face shows youth and animal.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 25; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LVII, 3.

Height, 1' 11½": Length, 3' 3¼".

12. British Museum No. 32: Elliot Collection No. 38.

Incomplete in section: outer face missing. Inner face shows dwarfs carrying the garland.

Reproduced: Fergusson, 1873, Pl. XCII, 5.

Height, 2' 1¾": Length, 6' 1". PLATE XXXIX. (Detail.)

Other Rail Fragments

13. British Museum No. 108: Elliot Collection No. 94. Rectangular block which stood on the final projection of a gate. Mortise holes are cut in the top to secure a lion figure, and in the base to fix to a circular pillar. On one short side is a dwarf caryatid facing outwards. One long side is carved with a scene of Elephants adoring a Stūpa, the other is curved and left plain. Possibly from northern gate.

Inscription: Fergusson, 1873, Pl. XCIX, No. XVIII: Lüders No. 1223.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 25; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXXXVII, 5.

Height, 1' 0½": Width, 1' 4½": Length, 2' 2".

PLATES XIVb and XLVIII.

14. British Museum No. 111: Elliot Collection Nos. 72 and 73.

Fragments forming part of a pillar, which stood at the final projection of a gate, consisting of a square stepped base with lotus rim, circular fluted member, and circular piece with animal frieze; a portion of a circular column; and a square cap of column and cushion capital. Possibly from northern gate.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pls. 28 and 29; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. xc, 8.

Stepped base is 2' 7" square.

Drum Slabs

15. British Museum No. 79: Mackenzie Collection. The Scene of the Enlightenment.

On the reverse is carved a drum slab, Catalogue No. 98.

Reproduced: Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXXXVIII, 2.

Height, 4' 1¾": Width, 2' 10¼".

PLATE V.

16. British Museum No. 41: Elliot Collection No. 76.

This slab seems to have been carved with a stūpa; the umbrellas are similar to those on Plate XIVb. The frieze is of a unique type. It shows scrolls vomited by addorsed *makara* heads enclosing the story of the Offering of the Monkey to the Buddha (Sivaramamurti, 1942, pp. 190-1). Similar treatment of the same story is found on a Middle Phase rail pillar (Burgess, 1887, Pl. XII, 3).

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 24; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXXXVII, 8.

Height, 1' 8": Length, 1' 3".

Drum Frieze

17. British Museum No. 62: Elliot Collection No. 92.

The ornament in the right-hand panel may be compared with that on another fragment of the same frieze (A.R.A.S.I., 1905-6, Pl. XLVIII, 1) and with the frieze represented on a Middle Phase drum slab (Pl. VII). The ornament in the left-hand panel shows leaves, and elephant-headed, winged quadrupeds springing from a lion protome, below which are two facing *makaras*.

This piece is carved on a split pillar, Catalogue No. 23.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 19; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXXXII, 8.

Height, 1' 1½": Length, 5' 11".

Miscellaneous Fragments

18. British Museum No. 43: Elliot Collection No. 106.

Fragment of a drum-slab, which may have decorated a small stūpa with high drum. Compare A.R.A.S.I., 1905-6, Pl. XLVII, 3. On the reverse is carved a *Buddhapāda*, Catalogue No. 19.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 32; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXXXVII, 2.

Height, 2' 3": Width, 2' 0½".

19. British Museum No. 43: Elliot Collection No. 106. Footprints of Buddha (*Buddhapāda*).

On the reverse is carved a drum-slab, Catalogue No. 18.
Reproduced: Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXXXVII, 3.
Height, 2' 3": Width, 2' 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ ".

20. British Museum No. 57: Elliot Collection No. 107.
Footprints of Buddha (*Buddhapāda*).
Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 32.
Height, 2' 3": Width, 1' 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". PLATE XLVII.

21. British Museum No. 42: Elliot Collection No. 55.
Fragment of Footprints of Buddha (*Buddhapāda*). Compare Burgess, 1887, Pl. XLIII, 14.
Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 22; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXXXVII, 4.
Height, 1' 1": Width, 1' 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ".

22. British Museum No. 45: Elliot Collection No. 95.
Slice from a rectangular pillar, carved on three faces. The subject on one of the narrow faces is indistinguishable. Compare Burgess, 1887, Pl. XLV, 1-4.
Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 5; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. XCI, 1.
Height, 4' 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ " : Width, 1' 10" : Depth, 0' 4". PLATE IX.

23. British Museum No. 62: Elliot Collection No. 92.
Rectangular pillar with central octagonal section enclosed within half-lotuses. It has been split vertically and carved with a drum frieze, Catalogue No. 17.
Inscription: Fergusson, 1873, Pl. XCIX, No. VI: Lüders No. 1211.
Reproduced: Fergusson, 1873, Pl. XC, 2 and 3.
Height, 5' 11" : Width, 1' 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ".

24. British Museum No. 65: Elliot Collection No. 57.
Pillar with rectangular base and octagonal shaft. It has been split vertically.
Inscription: Fergusson, 1873, Pl. XCIX, No. VII: Lüders No. 1212.
Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 24; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. XC, 1.
Height, 3' 10" : Width, 1' 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ".

25. British Museum No. 104: Elliot Collection No. 71.
Pillar with rectangular base and octagonal shaft. It is complete in section.
Inscription: Fergusson, 1873, Pl. XCIX, No. 111: Lüders No. 1208.
Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 28; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. XC, 7.
Height, 2' 4" : Width, 1' 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ".

26. British Museum No. 103: Elliot Collection No. 70.
Pillar with rectangular base and octagonal shaft. Three faces of the plain shaft have been carved in the Late Phase. The pillar has been split vertically.
Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 28; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. XC, 6.
Height, 3' 10" : Width, 1' 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". PLATE XLVIB.

27. British Museum No. 64: Elliot Collection No. 54.
Slice of pillar with rectangular base and octagonal shaft. Three faces of the plain shaft have been carved in the Late Phase.
Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 24; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. XC, 5.
Height, 2' 0" : Width, 1' 0".

28. British Museum No. 63: Elliot Collection No. 56.
Pillar with octagonal shaft and square centre section. Three faces of the plain octagonal shaft have been carved later, probably in the 7th-8th centuries A.D. The pillar has been split vertically. The square section at the top or bottom of a similar pillar with similar late decoration is illustrated by Burgess, 1887, Pl. XLIV, 7.
Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 24; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. XC, 4.
Height, 3' 4" : Width, 1' 2". PLATE XLVIA.

29. British Museum No. 109: Elliot Collection No. 74.
Caitya-khamba (Pillar). The four sculptured faces represent the Birth (Pot of Lotuses and Lion Pillar), Enlightenment (Tree), First Sermon (Wheel), and Death (Stūpa). On one plain face is an incised male-figure and inscription (unpublished), probably of 19th century date. The stūpa on this pillar seems to be the only one with a high drum at Amarāvati represented with a rail. It may be noted that the gate is formed simply by an interruption in the rail.

Inscription: Fergusson, 1873, Pl. XCIX, No. V: Lüders No. 1210.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 29; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXXXIX.
Height, 8' 6" : Width, 1' 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". PLATE IXb, c and d.

MIDDLE PHASE

Rail Pillars

30. British Museum No. 4: Elliot Collection Nos. 32 and 33.
Complete in section and carved on both faces. Inner face shows the Buddha at the Nairanjā river (upper fluted area), Sujātā offering the rice to the Buddha (centre roundel), and the Enlightenment (lower fluted area).

For the first scene see J. P. Vogel, *Indian Serpent-Lore*. London, 1926, pp. 98-101.

Inscription: Fergusson, 1873, Pl. xcix, No. xiv: Lüders, No. 1219.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pls. 16 (inner face) and 17 (outer face); Fergusson, 1873, Pl. lvi, 2 (inner face) and 1, 2 (outer face).

Height, 8' 10½": Width, 2' 10½". PLATES XXI, XXII, XXV and XXX.

31. British Museum No. 1: Elliot Collection No. 18. Incomplete in section: outer face missing. Inner face shows the Enlightenment (upper fluted area); the Offering of barley cakes and honey by the two merchants, Tapussa and Bhalluka, and of the four bowls by the Four Lokapālas (centre roundel); and Sotthiya presenting the bundles of grass, Māra claiming the Buddha's seat, and the Temptation, and discomfiture of Māra (lower fluted area). This piece is in bad condition, having been exposed on the outer wall of Fife House.

Inscription: Fergusson, 1873, Pl. xcix, No. xvii: Lüders, No. 1222.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pls. 1 and 6; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. lvi, 1.

Height, 9' 0": Width, 2' 8".

32. British Museum No. 48: Elliot Collection No. 23. Incomplete in section: outer face missing. Inner face shows the visit of Asita and his nephew, Naradatta (lower fluted area); and Asita nursing the infant Buddha (centre roundel). This subject, though not otherwise found at Amarāvati, appears at Nāgārjunikonda. (M.A.S.L., No. 54, Pl. xxia.)

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 11; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. lxi, 2. Height, 6' 8": Width, 2' 9½".

33. British Museum No. 37: Elliot Collection No. 100. Incomplete in section: outer face missing. Its narrowness suggests that it was one of the pillars of the projections of the rail which formed the gates. The subject on the inner face is unidentified.

Inscription: Fergusson, 1873, Pl. xcix, No. xiii: Lüders, No. 1218.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 32; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. lxi, 1. Height, 5' 9": Width, 1' 9½". PLATE XXIV. (Detail.)

34. British Museum No. 47: Elliot Collection No. 17. Incomplete in section: inner face missing.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 5; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. 1, 1. Height, 9' 0": Width, 2' 8".

35. British Museum No. 10: Elliot Collection No. 68. Fragment of top of outer face, showing frieze of elephants and winged lions adoring stūpa, and a half-lotus.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 27.

Height, 2' 0": Width, 2' 3".

Rail Cross-Bars

36. British Museum No. 12: Elliot Collection Nos. 125 and 126.

Complete in section and carved on both faces, the outer with lotus and inner with a scene from the Mandhātū Jātaka (Mandhātū sharing Sakka's throne).

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 34 (inner face); Fergusson, 1873, Pls. lxi, 2 (inner face) and lv, 5 (outer face).

Diameter, 2' 8½".

PLATE XXXVI.

37. British Museum No. 15: Elliot Collection No. 109. Complete in section and carved on both faces, outer with a fragmentary lotus, and inner with the story of Udayana and Sāmāvatī (see Sivaramamurti, 1942, pp. 202-4). Compare Burgess, 1887, Pl. xii, 2.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 34 (inner face); Fergusson, 1873, Pl. lxiii, 1 (inner face).

Diameter, 2' 9½".

PLATE XXXVIII.

38. British Museum No. 2: Elliot Collection Nos. 35 and 36.

Complete in section and carved on both faces, outer with a lotus, and inner with the visit of King Ajātasattu and his women to the Buddha (see Sivaramamurti, 1942, pp. 189-90). Compare Burgess, 1887, Pl. xxiii, 3 for the same scene on a fragment of rail coping of the Late Phase.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 18 (inner face); Fergusson, 1873, Pls. lxiii, 2 (inner face) and liv, 3 (outer face).

Diameter, 2' 8½".

PLATE XXXIX.

39. British Museum Nos. 3 and 16: Elliot Collection Nos. 45 and 44.

Complete in section and carved with a lotus on both faces. The lotus rosette border of British Museum No. 3 is now barely distinguishable.

Reproduced: Fergusson, 1873, Pls. lv, 4 and liv, 2.

Diameter, 2' 9".

40. British Museum No. 3: Elliot Collection No. 34. Incomplete in section: outer face missing. Inner face shows Śuddhodana visiting Māyā in the Aśoka Grove.

(Sivaramamurti, 1942, pp. 176-7). Compare Burgess 1887, Pl. xviii, 2.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 18; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. lxiii, 3.

Diameter, 2' 8½".

PLATE XXXIb.

41. British Museum No. 6: Elliot Collection No. 114. Incomplete in section: carved with a lotus on the surviving face.

Inscription: Unpublished.

Reproduced: Fergusson, 1873, Pl. lii, 4.

Diameter, 2' 9½".

PLATE XXXIb.

42. British Museum No. 9: Mackenzie Collection. Incomplete in section. Surviving face is carved with a lotus with five rows of petals, the two centre rows being incurved.

Diameter, 2' 10½".

Rail Coping

43. British Museum Nos. 19 and 20: Elliot Collection Nos. 27 and 28.

Complete in section and carved on both faces, outer with young men carrying the scroll, inner with the Buddha's visit to Kapilavastu. On the left is the procession of Siddhodana from the city; in the centre the Buddha is performing the miracle of rising into the air; in the right centre He is seated preaching the Law to His father; on the right His father is presenting Him with the grove of banyan trees. If this interpretation is correct, it is noteworthy that the Buddha is thrice represented without a halo. The presence of the stupa is difficult to explain.

Inscription: Unpublished.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pls. 13 (inner face) and 14 (outer face); Fergusson, 1873, Pls. lvi, 1 (outer face) and lxiv, 2 (inner face).

Height, 2' 8": Length, 9' 2½". PLATES XI and XLII. (Details.)

44. British Museum No. 18: Elliot Collection Nos. 29, 77 and 89.

Incomplete in section: outer face missing. Inner face shows a scene similar to that on a rail coping in Madras (Burgess, 1887, Pl. xxi, 2), which Sivaramamurti interprets as the Assault of Mīra (Sivaramamurti, 1942, pp. 179-81).

Inscription: Fergusson, 1873, Pl. xcix No. 1: Lüders No. 1206.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pls. 15, 24 and 30; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. lxiv, 1 (incomplete).

Height, 2' 7": Length, 9' 9". PLATE XLIII. (Detail.)

45. British Museum No. 22: Elliot Collection No. 25. Incomplete in section: outer face missing. Inner face shows the scene of the First Sermon.

Inscription: Fergusson, 1873, Pl. xcix, No. xvi: Lüders No. 1221.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 12; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. xcii, 1. Height, 2' 7½": Length, 2' 10".

46. British Museum No. 21: Elliot Collection No. 64. Incomplete in section: inner face missing. Outer face shows a *makara* vomiting a garland. This piece stood at the end of a quadrant of the rail.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 24; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. xcii, 4. Height, 2' 7": Length, 2' 10½".

Other Rail Fragments

47. British Museum No. 105: Elliot Collection No. 88. Lion, probably from northern gate.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 29; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. lxxxviii, 4.

Height, 3' 6": Width, 1' 1": Length, 2' 0".

48. British Museum No. 106: Elliot Collection No. 87. Lion, probably from northern gate.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 28; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. lxxxviii, 5.

Height, 3' 9": Width, 1' 3": Length, 2' 8".

Drum Slabs

49. British Museum No. 39: Elliot Collection No. 102. Compare Burgess, 1887, Pls. xxxii, 5, xi, 2 and xlii, 2.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 5; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. xci, 2.

Height, 4' 10": Length, 2' 7". PLATE Ib.

50. British Museum No. 58: Elliot Collection No. 50.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 21; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. lxxxvii, 7.

Height, 2' 6": Length, 0' 11½".

51. British Museum No. 112. Presented by Government of Madras, 1885.

Compare Burgess, 1887, Pls. xxxvi, 1 and xxxix, 3. This fragment was found in the south-west quadrant (Burgess,

1882, p. 14, Nos. 23 B and 24 B): it has been split, and on the reverse carved with a drum frieze, Catalogue No. 118.

Reproduced: Burgess, 1887, Pl. XII, 3.

Height, 4' 8": Width, 1' 3".

PLATE IIIb.

52. British Museum No. 74: Elliot Collection No. 21. This slab is in three registers and shows the Three Great Miracles.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pls. 9 and 32: Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXXV (Middle Slab).

Height, 4' 7½": Length, 2' 3½".

53. British Museum No. 44: Elliot Collection No. 122. Top right: Māyā's Dream. Top left: The Interpretation of the Dream. Bottom right: The Birth of the Buddha. Bottom left: The Child presented to the tutelary Yakṣas of the Sūkyas. A very similar piece was drawn by Mackenzie's draughtsmen (Burgess, 1887, Pl. XXXII, 2).

Reproduced: Tripe, Pls. 27 and 38: Fergusson, 1873, Pl. XCI, 4.

Height, 5' 3": Length, 3' 2½".

PLATE VII.

54. British Museum No. 38: Elliot Collection No. 2. In two registers, both showing the Cakravartī and his seven jewels. It is interesting to note that in the upper register the falling coins are represented, as in the famous Jaggaṃyapeta relief (Burgess, 1887, Pl. IV, 3).

Reproduced: Tripe, Pls. 2 and 27: Fergusson, 1873, Pl. XCI, 3.

Height, 4' 2½": Length, 2' 7".

PLATE VI.

Drum Frieze

55. British Museum No. 60: Elliot Collection No. 75. The panels show the Elevation of the Head-dress (left) and the Departure (right).

Compare Burgess, 1887, Pl. XLVIII, 4 (below). On the reverse is an unfinished *calra*.

Inscription: Fergusson, 1873, Pl. XCIX, No. XI: Lüders, No. 1216.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 4: Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXXXII, 6.

Height, 0' 11½": Length, 2' 4".

56. British Museum No. 107: Elliot Collection No. 99. The panels show the Elevation of the Head-dress (left) and the Worship of the Stūpa (right). Down the left edge is carved, in the style of the Late Phase and in shallow relief, part of what appears to be the scene of the

First Sermon. This frieze seems to have been re-used in the Late Phase at the corner of an *āyaka*-platform, probably of a small stūpa.

Inscription: Unpublished.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pls. 4 and 30: Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXXXII, 7.

Height, 0' 10½": Length, 1' 5".

57. British Museum No. 55: Elliot Collection No. 53.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 23: Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXXXVIII, 1.

Height, 1' 5": Length, 2' 7".

58. British Museum No. 56: Elliot Collection No. 52. Presumably from an *āyaka*-platform, since the rail-pattern continues round the edge of the slab.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 23: Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXXXVIII, 2.

Height, 1' 5": Length, 3' 8½".

Dome Slabs

59. British Museum No. 93: Elliot Collection No. 37. The three registers show the Enlightenment, the First Sermon and the Death. This piece is in bad condition, having been exposed on the outer wall of Fife House.

Inscription: Lüders, No. 1227.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 19 (top register only): Fergusson, Pl. XCIV, 3.

Height, 7' 10": Width, 3' 1".

PLATE XXa.

60. British Museum No. 94: Elliot Collection No. 96. The two registers show the Enlightenment and the First Sermon.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 23: Fergusson, 1873, Pl. XCIV, 5. Height, 4' 10": Width, 2' 10½".

61. British Museum No. 95: Elliot Collection No. 113. The one register shows the Death.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 26: Fergusson, 1873, Pl. XCIV, 4. Height, 2' 4½": Width, 2' 7".

62. British Museum No. 113: Elliot Collection No. 66. Fragment of one register, showing the First Sermon.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 27: Fergusson, 1873, Pl. XCIV, 1. Height, 2' 5½": Width, 2' 6½".

63. British Museum No. 66: Elliot Collection No. 67. Fragment of one register.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 26; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. xciv, 2.
Height, 1' 9½": Width, 1' 4½".

64. British Museum No. 114; Elliot Collection No. 41.
The one register shows the Death.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 20; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. xcvi, 1.
Height, 4' 9½": Width, 2' 9½".

65. British Museum No. 96; Elliot Collection No. 112.
The one register shows the Death.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 25; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. xcvi, 2.
Height, 4' 7": Width, 2' 9½".

PLATE XIX.

66. British Museum No. 115; Elliot Collection No. 111.
The one register shows the Death.

Reproduced: Mackenzie, Pl. 34; Tripe, Pl. 25; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. xcvi, 3.

Height, 4' 9½": Width, 2' 8".

67. British Museum No. 97; Elliot Collection No. 43.
The one register shows the Death.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 20; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. xcvi, 4.
Height, 4' 7½": Width, 2' 11½".

68. British Museum No. 98; Elliot Collection No. 91.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 30; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. xciii, 3
(top row left centre).

Height, 2' 6½": Width, 1' 8½".

69. British Museum No. 116; Elliot Collection No. 42.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 21; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. xciii, 4
(top row right centre).

Height, 2' 7": Width, 2' 9".

70. British Museum No. 49; Elliot Collection 118.
The two registers show a Cakravartī and the First Sermon. The latter is incomplete at top.

Inscription: Fergusson, 1873, Pl. xcix, No. xix; Lüders No. 1224.

Reproduced: Mackenzie, Pl. 8; Tripe, Pl. 23; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. xcv, 3.

Height, 5' 7½": Width, 3' 8½".

PLATE XVII.

71. British Museum No. 50; Elliot Collection Nos. 115 and 123.

The two registers show a Cakravartī and the First Sermon. The sculptor had started to carve the same subjects on the back of this piece, but for some reason

abandoned the work and reversed the slab. Mackenzie describes the fragment as 'Loose stone lying on the East side'.

Inscription: Fergusson, 1873, Pl. xcix, No. x; Lüders No. 1215.

Reproduced: Mackenzie, Pl. 25; Tripe, Pls. 24 (No. 123) and 32 (No. 115); Fergusson, 1873, Pls. xcv, 4; and xcv, 1 and xcvi, 2 (Reverse).

Height, 7' 2½": Width, 3' 0".

PLATE XVI.

72. British Museum No. 53; Elliot Collection No. 129.
The two registers show a Nāgarāja and his four queens, and a Cakravartī.

The lower register is almost complete in Mackenzie's drawing (Burgess, 1887, Pl. 1, 1).

The frieze of seated Buddhas is cut over a frieze of birds, one of which may be seen on the extreme left. Mackenzie describes the fragment as 'Loose stone lying on the South side'.

Reproduced: Mackenzie, Pl. 26; Tripe, Pl. 31; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. xcvi, 1.

Height, 3' 11": Width, 3' 9½".

PLATE XV.

73. British Museum No. 51; Elliot Collection No. 101.
The one register shows the Departure. In Mackenzie's drawing the first register is more complete and the second – a man and two women adoring a stūpa, on the drum of which is the figure of a standing Buddha – is also shown. Compare Sivaramamurti, 1942, Pl. xix, 1. Mackenzie describes the fragment as 'Loose stone lying to the S.E.'.

Inscription: Lüders No. 1226.

Reproduced: Mackenzie, Pl. 23; Tripe, Pl. 32; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. xcvi, 3.

Height, 4' 1½": Width, 2' 10½".

74. British Museum No. 52; Elliot Collection No. 117.
A fragment of one register, which seems to show a scene similar to The Interpretation of Māyā's Dream on Catalogue No. 53.

Reproduced: Mackenzie, Pl. 46 (3); Tripe, Pl. 30; Fergusson, 1873, xcv, 2.

Height, 2' 11½": Width, 2' 0".

75. British Museum No. 54; Elliot Collection No. 49.
Vase of lotuses (*Pinnaghatta*).

Inscription: Lüders No. 1228 (not read).

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 23; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. xcvi, 4.

Height, 4' 7": Width, 2' 8½".

PLATE XVIII.

76. British Museum No. 117; Elliot Collection No. 51.
Vase of lotuses (*Pumaghata*).

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 23; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. XCIII
(second left, bottom row).

Height, 3' 6": Width, 2' 9".

77. British Museum No. 118; Elliot Collection No. 69.
Fragment of vase of lotuses (*Pumaghata*).

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 22.

Height, 1' 11": Width, 2' 0".

Miscellaneous Fragments

78. British Museum No. 29; Elliot Collection No. 31.
Frieze carved with young men carrying the garland.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 12; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. XVI, 2.

Height, 2' 8": Length, 5' 5".

79. British Museum No. 30; Elliot Collection No. 110.
Fragment of frieze carved with young men carrying the
garland.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 30; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. XCII, 2.

Height, 1' 10": Length, 2' 6".

80. British Museum No. 33; Elliot Collection No. 65.
Fragment of frieze carved with young men carrying the
garland.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 26; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. XCII, 3.

Height, 1' 4½": Length, 1' 5½".

LATE PHASE

Rail Pillars

81. British Museum No. 14; Elliot Collection No. 140.
Complete in section and carved on both faces. Inner face
shows unidentified palace scene (centre roundel) and the
Sarvamādāvadāna (lower fluted area). For the latter see
Sivaramamurti, 1942, pp. 228-230.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 43 (inner face); Fergusson, 1873,
Pls. III, 2 (outer face) and LX, 1 (inner face).

Height, 7' 8½": Width, 2' 10½".

PLATES XXIII and XXVI. (Details.)

82. British Museum No. 7; Elliot Collection Nos. 132
and 133.

Complete in section and carved on both faces. Inner face
shows Elevation of the Head-dress, adoring women and
fragmentary scene (upper fluted area); The Departure
from Kapilavastu (centre roundel); and the Elevation

of the Head-dress, Prince Siddhārtha taking leave of
Chandaka, his groom, and Kanthaka, his horse, and the
First Sermon (lower fluted area).

Reproduced: Tripe, Pls. 40 (outer face) and 39 (inner
face); Fergusson, 1873, Pls. III, 1 (outer face) and LX, 1
(inner face).

Height, 9' 0": Width, 2' 9½". PLATE XXVIII. (Detail.)

83. British Museum No. 17; Elliot Collection Nos. 131
and 134.

Complete in section and carved on both faces. Inner face
probably shows Nanda and his beautiful wife (centre
roundel); and the Jātaka of the Nāga Champaka (lower
fluted area). For the latter story, see J. P. Vogel, *Indian
Serpent-Lore*, London, 1926, pp. 151-4.

Reproduced: Mackenzie, Pl. 55 (outer face); Tripe, Pl. 41
(inner face); Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LX, 2 (inner face).

Height, 7' 6": Width, 2' 0". PLATE XXVII. (Detail.)

84. British Museum No. 11; Elliot Collection Nos. 138
and 139.

Complete in section and carved on both faces. Inner face
shows Adoration of the Buddha (upper fluted area);
Rāhula presented to his Father (centre roundel); and
Conversion of Nanda (lower fluted area).

Reproduced: Mackenzie, Pl. 56 (outer face); Tripe,
Pl. 42 (inner face); Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LX, 2 (inner face).

Height, 8' 5": Width, 2' 8½".

PLATES XXIX and XXXI. (Details.)

Rail Cross-Bars

85. British Museum No. 8; Mackenzie Collection.
Incomplete in section; outer face missing. Inner face
shows Relic-casket worshipped by Nāgas.

Reproduced: Mackenzie, Pl. 58; Fergusson, 1873, Pl.
LXII, 1.

Diameter, 2' 11½".

PLATE XXXVII.

86. British Museum No. 119; Presented by Government
of Madras, 1885.

Incomplete in section; outer face missing. Inner face
shows monks and laity worshipping the Buddha at a
Pillar of Fire. This piece was found in the south-west
quadrant (Burgess, 1882, No. 27).

Reproduced: Burgess, 1887, Pl. XVII, 4.

Diameter, 2' 9½".

PLATE XXXV.

87. British Museum No. 13; Elliot Collection No. 124.
Incomplete in section: one face missing.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 26; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LIV, 1.
Diameter, 2' 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ ".

88. British Museum No. 92 (From India Office Store.
No other information.)

Fragment of flange of a cross-bar.

Inscription: Unpublished.

Height, 0' 5": Length, 0' 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ ".

Rail Coping

89. British Museum No. 34; Mackenzie Collection.

Incomplete in section: outer face missing. Inner face shows Adoration of the Stūpa and Pastoral Scene (left) and Nanda and his beautiful wife (right). Mackenzie notes 'Brought round 1819'.

Reproduced: Mackenzie, Pl. 79; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXV, 2.

Height, 2' 8": Length, 3' 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ".

PLATE XLIV.

90. British Museum No. 23; Elliot Collection Nos. 1 and 24.

Incomplete in section: outer face missing. Inner face shows the Interpretation of Māyā's Dream (left), the Birth of the Buddha (centre), and Prince Siddhārtha in his harem (right).

Reproduced: Tripe, Pls. 1 and 12; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXV, 3.

Height, 2' 9": Length, 8' 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". PLATE XLV. (Detail.)

91. British Museum No. 35; Elliot Collection No. 104.

Incomplete in section: outer face missing. Inner face shows Vessantara Jātaka.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 26; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXV, 1.

Height, 2' 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ " : Length, 4' 6".

92. British Museum No. 31; Elliot Collection No. 30.

Incomplete in section: inner face missing.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 14; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LVI, 3.

Height, 2' 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " : Length, 3' 6".

PLATE XII.

Drum Slabs

93. British Museum No. 81; Elliot Collection No. 120.

Dome roundels include Māyā's Dream, Descent of the Elephant, Interpretation of Dream and Birth. *Āyaka*-frieze shows Elevation of Head-dress, the Enlightenment and First Sermon. Drum frieze includes Enlightenment and First Sermon. On the *āyaka*-slab is a Nāga.

The rail coping shows the Incident of the Elephant Nalagiri and the Departure. This slab is carved on a split rail-pillar, Catalogue No. 3.

Reproduced: Mackenzie, Pl. 41 (when complete); Tripe, Pl. 36; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXXVIII, 1.

Height, 3' 8" : Width, 2' 11".

PLATE IIIA.

94. British Museum No. 85; Elliot Collection, No. 127.

Dome slabs include Cakravartī, the Chaldanta Jātaka and the Sarvamladāvadāna. *Āyaka*-frieze shows Sujātā's offering. Drum frieze includes Mandhātū Jātaka and the story of Udayana. On the *āyaka*-slab are the Departure and the Bodhisattva in the Tusita Heaven. The rail-coping shows the Elevation of the Head-dress and Bowl of the Buddha. Mackenzie notes 'Inner Circle No. 1 to north-east'.

Reproduced: Mackenzie, Pl. 47; Tripe, Pls. 19 and 37; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXXX, 2.

Height, 4' 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ " : Width, 3' 10".

95. British Museum No. 83; Elliot Collection No. 103.

Similar decoration to Catalogue No. 94, except that dome roundels show the Dream of Māyā, the Interpretation, the Birth and Presentation, and the dome slabs include scenes from the Vessantara Jātaka.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 33; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXXX, 3.

Height, 4' 1" : Width, 3' 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ".

96. British Museum No. 80; Elliot Collection No. 20.

Decoration similar to Catalogue No. 94. A pencil sketch of the right half of this piece is in the Mackenzie Collection.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 8; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXXXI, 3.

Height, 3' 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " : Width, 2' 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ ".

97. British Museum No. 87; Elliot Collection No. 128.

Dome roundels include Interpretation of the Dream and the Birth. Dome slabs include scenes from Vessantara Jātaka, the Conversion of Nanda, Worship of the Buddha and possibly Sakka carrying off a woman. On the drum frieze appear the Mandhātū Jātaka and the Sarvamladāvadāna. The *āyaka*-slab shows the First Sermon. The rail coping shows the Elevation of the Head-dress and Bowl of the Buddha.

Reproduced: Mackenzie, Pl. 11; Tripe, Pl. 36; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXXXIX, 1.

Height, 5' 0" : Width, 3' 9".

98. British Museum No. 79; Mackenzie Collection.

Dome roundels include Māyā's Dream, the Birth, the

Departure and the First Sermon. Dome slabs include the Conversion of Nanda and Adoration of the Buddha. The *āyaka*-slab shows the Buddha at the Nairanjana River.

On the reverse is carved a drum slab, Catalogue No. 15. Inscription: Unpublished.

Reproduced: Mackenzie, Pl. 64; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXXVIII, 3.

Height, 4' 1½": Width, 2' 10½".

PLATE IV.

99. British Museum No. 70: Mackenzie Collection. Dome roundels show Adoration of the Buddha and Elevation of the Head-dress and Bowl of the Buddha. On dome slabs are Conversion of Nanda, the Mandhātū Jātaka and Jātaka of the Nāgā Champaka. On drum frieze is a Cakravartī and the Vessantara Jātaka. On *āyaka*-frieze is Adoration of the Bodhisattva. The *āyaka*-slab shows the Buddha at the Nairanjana River.

Inscription: Fergusson, 1873, Pl. XCIX, No. VII: Lüders No. 1213.

Reproduced: Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXXVII.

Height, 4' 6½": Width, 2' 10½".

100. British Museum No. 72: Mackenzie Collection. Dome roundels show the Elevation of the Head-dress and Bowl of the Buddha, the Interpretation of the Dream, the Birth and Presentation of the Child. The scenes on the dome slabs are unidentified. On the drum frieze are palace scenes and *mithunas*. The *āyaka*-frieze shows offering of Sujātā, and the *āyaka*-slab the Buddha protected by Mucilinda.

Reproduced: Mackenzie, Pl. 19; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXXXVI.

Height, 4' 6½": Width, 3' 8½".

PLATE II.

101. British Museum No. 69: Elliot Collection No. 116. Dome roundels show Enlightenment and First Sermon. On the dome slabs are scenes from the Mandhātū Jātaka, the Sarvaṃśāradāvadāna, and possibly a scene from the Suruci Jātaka. On the *āyaka*-frieze is a scene of women adoring the Buddha, and the Monkey's Offering, on the *āyaka*-slab Nāgas adoring a relic-casket. Mackenzie notes Inner Circle No. 2 to the north-east.

Reproduced: Mackenzie, Pl. 42; Tripe, Pls. 19 and 35; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXXXI, 1.

Height, 4' 7½": Width, 3' 9½".

102. British Museum No. 75: Elliot Collection No. 22. The dome roundels include scenes of the Birth and the

First Sermon, the dome slabs scenes of the First Sermon, Adoration of the Buddha and the presentation of Rāhula. On the drum frieze are scenes from the Mandhātū Jātaka. On the *āyaka*-frieze is Sujātā's Offering, and on the *āyaka*-slab, Adoration of the Buddha. The figure of a Nāga has been roughly cut at the top of the dome, probably in the 19th century.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 10; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXXXI, 2. Height, 3' 4": Width, 3' 2".

103. British Museum No. 120: Elliot Collection No. 19. On the dome slabs are scenes from the Mandhātū Jātaka and the Conversion of Nanda. The drum frieze shows scenes from Mandhātū Jātaka. The *āyaka*-frieze shows the Bodhisattva in the Tuṣita Heaven, and the *āyaka*-slab a symbolic representation of the Buddha protected by Mucilinda.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 7; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXXIX, 2. Height, 4' 0": Width, 3' 0½".

104. British Museum No. 121: Elliot Collection No. 119. On the *āyaka*-slab is the scene of the First Sermon.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 24; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXXIX, 3. Height, 3' 9": Width, 3' 1½".

105. British Museum No. 122: Elliot Collection No. 121.

On the *āyaka*-slab is a scene from the Vessantara Jātaka.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 27; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXXX, 1. Height, 1' 7½": Width, 3' 7½".

Pilasters Dividing Drum Slabs

106. British Museum No. 36: Elliot Collection No. 26. This piece is complete. At the top of the pillar is shown the Elevation of the Head-dress and Bowl.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 10; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXXXVIII, 3.

Height, 6' 0": Width, 2' 0½".

107. British Museum No. 71: Mackenzie Collection. The First Sermon.

Mackenzie notes on his Pl. 35: 'Two pillars found lying to the South which belong to the same circle.' Pl. 35a is the pilaster presented by Mackenzie to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. A pencilled note on Pl. 35 shows that both were handed to Major Cotgrave.

Reproduced: Mackenzie, Pl. 35b; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXXV.

Height, 4' 7½": Width, 0' 10½". PLATE VIIIb.

108. British Museum No. 123 (given by Sir Walter Elliot, 1882 - Registration No. 1882 10-10 1).

The First Sermon.

Height, 4' 3½": Width, 0' 5½". PLATE IXa.

109. British Museum No. 82: Mackenzie Collection. Bottom to top: The Departure, the Temptation, the First Sermon and the Death.

Inscription: Unpublished.

Reproduced: Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXXV (shown twice).

Height, 4' 7": Width, 0' 7½".

110. British Museum No. 73: Elliot Collection No. 10. Bottom to top: Prince Siddhārtha taking leave of Chandaka, his groom, the Kanthaka, his horse; the Temptation; the First Sermon; and the Death.

Inscription: Fergusson, 1873, Pl. xcix, No. xii; Lüders No. 1217.

Reproduced: Mackenzie, Pl. 22b; Tripe, Pls. 3 and 24.

Height, 4' 3": Width, 0' 8". PLATE VIIIa.

111. British Museum No. 84: Elliot Collection No. 16. Bottom to top: Prince Siddhārtha taking leave of Chandaka, his groom, and Kanthaka, his horse; the Illumination; the First Sermon; and the Death.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pls. 3 and 31; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXXV.

Height, 4' 2½": Width, 0' 7½". PLATE VIIIc.

112. British Museum No. 86: Elliot Collection No. 15. Bottom to top: The Buddha as Cakravarti, the Illumination, the First Sermon, and the Death.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pls. 3 and 31; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXXV.

Height, 4' 7": Width, 0' 7".

Drum Frieze

113. British Museum No. 77 (Purchased 1860 - Registration No. 1860 7-12 1).

Left to right: Elevation of the Head-dress of the Buddha; *mithuna* group; Prince Siddhārtha taking leave of Chandaka, his groom, and Kanthaka, his horse; *mithuna* group of Pāṇchuka and Hāriti type; and Nāgas worshipping the Buddha. If the interpretation of the last

scene is correct, it is noteworthy that the Buddha has no halo and, though clad in a monk's robe, retains his long hair. The scene however may be Vidhurapandita preaching to the Nāgas (compare Sivaramamurti, 1942, Pl. xxix, 2). A piece in Madras fits the left end of this (Burgess, 1887, Pl. xlii, 4 and Sivaramamurti, 1942, p. 250, No. iv, 2, 3).

Inscription: Fergusson, 1873, Pl. xcix, No. xx; Lüders No. 1225.

Reproduced: Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXXXII, 1.

Height, 1' 4": Length, 5' 3½". PLATES X and XI (Details.)

114. British Museum No. 89: Elliot Collection No. 11. Left to right: a male figure (part of a *mithuna* group), and Sakka carrying off a woman (probably the story from the Dhammapad-Attha-Kathā, summarized by Sivaramamurti, 1942, pp. 227-8).

Inscription: Unpublished.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pls. 4 and 27; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXXXII, 5.

Height, 1' 4½": Length, 1' 11".

115. British Museum No. 76: Elliot Collection No. 13. Left to right: unidentified palace-scene, and men and women adoring a stūpa.

Inscription: Unpublished.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pls. 4 and 27; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXXXII, 4.

Height, 1' 5½": Length, 2' 2½".

116. British Museum No. 90: Elliot Collection No. 105. Left to right: scene from the Sarvaṃdadāvadāna; the Buddha subdues the elephant Nalagiri; the Sasa Jātaka; and a standing male figure.

Inscription: Unpublished.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 31; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXXXII, 2.

Height, 1' 3": Length, 4' 9½". PLATE XIva.

117. British Museum No. 78: Elliot Collection No. 14. Left to right: Nāga *mithuna*; three scenes probably from the Jātaka of the Nāga Champaka; and a Nāga *mithuna*.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 5; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. LXXXII, 3.

Height, 1' 5½": Length, 4' 1".

118. British Museum No. 112. Presented by Government of Madras, 1885.

Right to left: a *mithuna* group; Prince Siddhārtha in his harem; Prince Siddhārtha leaving Kapilavastu; and

Prince Siddhārtha taking leave of Chandaka, his groom, and Kanthaka, his horse. This fragment was found in the south-west quadrant (Burgess, 1882, p. 14, Nos. 23B and 24B) and is carved on the back of a split drum slab, Catalogue No. 51.

Reproduced: Burgess, 1887, Pl. XI, 1.

Height, 1' 3": Length, 4' 8". PLATES XII and XIII
(Details.)

Miscellaneous Fragments

119. British Museum No. 88; Elliot Collection No. 93.
Frieze of seven seated Buddhas, flanked by worshippers:
probably from a small stūpa.

Inscription: Unpublished.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 30.

Height, 0' 9": Length, 3' 6½".

120. British Museum No. 91; Elliot Collection No. 12.
Frieze of two alternating stūpas and seated Buddhas:

probably from a small stūpa. Compare Burgess, 1887,
Pl. XLIII, 4-11.

Inscription: Unpublished.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pls. 4 and 32.

Height, 0' 8½": Length, 1' 8½".

121. British Museum No. 40; Elliot Collection No. 98.
Rectangular slab with standing worshippers flanking a
stūpa, on the drum of which is a seated Buddha.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 27; Fergusson, 1873, Pl. xciii
(first piece in fourth row).

Height, 1' 7": Width, 1' 3".

122. British Museum No. 124; Elliot Collection No. 78.
Corner of a trough (t), with raised edge carved with a
narrow frieze of running animals.

Reproduced: Tripe, Pl. 26.

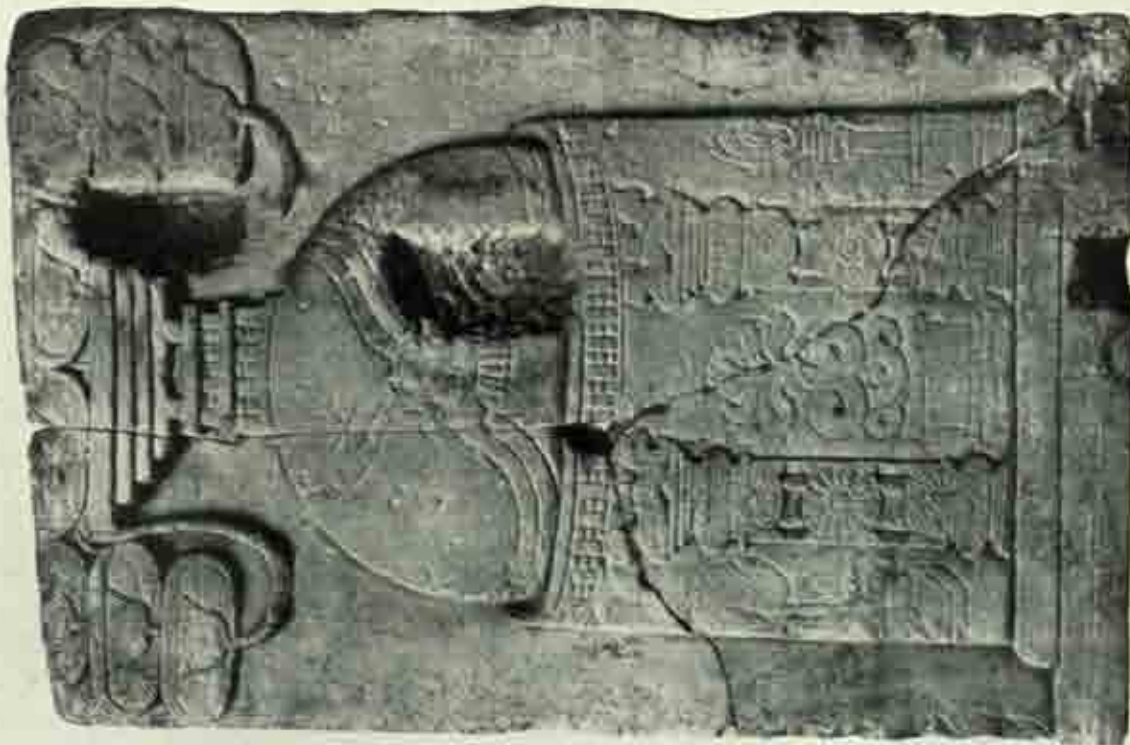
Height, 1' 3½": Width, 1' 4".

Concordances

<i>Tripe Nos. (Elliot Collection)</i>	<i>Catalogue Nos.</i>	<i>Tripe Nos. (Elliot Collection)</i>	<i>Catalogue Nos.</i>	<i>Tripe Nos. (Elliot Collection)</i>	<i>Catalogue Nos.</i>	<i>Tripe Nos. (Elliot Collection)</i>	<i>Catalogue Nos.</i>
1	90	39	2	72	14	112	65
2	54	40	1	73	14	113	61
10	110	41	64	74	29	114	41
11	114	42	69	75	55	115	71
12	120	43	67	76	16	116	101
13	115	44	39	77	44	117	74
14	117	45	39	78	122	118	70
15	112	46	6	87	48	119	104
16	111	47	8	88	47	120	3, 93
17	34	48	7	89	44	121	105
18	31	49	75	91	68	122	53
19	103	50	50	92	17, 23	123	71
20	96	51	76	93	119	124	87
21	52	52	58	94	13	125	36
22	102	53	57	95	22	126 (Rev. of 125)	36
23	32	54	27	96	60	127	94
24	90	55	21	98	121	128	97
25	45	56	28	99	56	129	72
26	106	57	24	100	33	130	5
27	43	58	9	101	73	131 (Rev. of 134)	83
28	43	59	11	102	49	132	82
29	44	60	10	103	95	133	82
30	92	64	46	104	91	134	83
31	78	65	80	105	116	135 (Rev. of 130)	5
32	30	66	62	106	18, 19	136	4
33	30	67	63	107	20	137 (Rev. of 136)	4
34	40	68	35	108	10	138	84
35	38	69	77	109	37	139 (Rev. of 138)	84
36 (Rev. of 35)	38	70	26	110	79	140	81
37	59	71	25	111	66	141 (Rev. of 140)	81
38	12						

Note: Elliot Collection Nos. 3, 6, 61, 62, 79, 80 and 97 are published by Douglas Barrett. "The Later School of Amarāvati and its Influences." *Art and Letters*, Vol. xxviii, No. 2. 1954. Elliot Collection Nos. 82 and 90 are not Amarāvati pieces and did not come to the Museum.

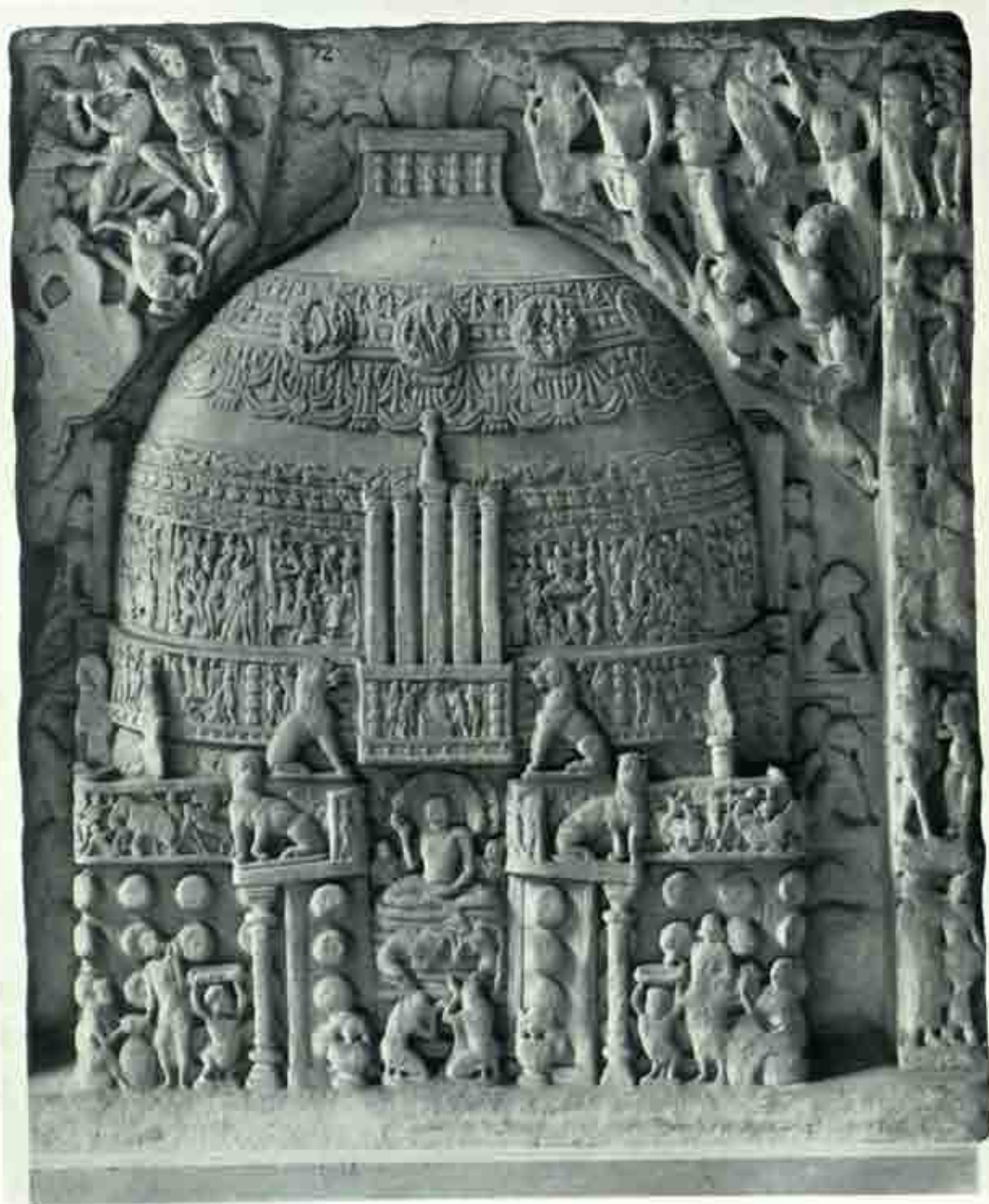
<i>Fergusson,</i> 1873. (Plates)	<i>Catalogue</i> Nos.	<i>Fergusson,</i> 1873. (Plates)	<i>Catalogue</i> Nos.	<i>Fergusson,</i> 1873. (Plates)	<i>Catalogue</i> Nos.	<i>Fergusson,</i> 1873. (Plates)	<i>Catalogue</i> Nos.
L, 1	34	LX, 2	83	LXXXI, 3	96	XC, 8	14
L, 2	30	LXI, 1	33	LXXXII, 1	113	XCI, 1	22
LI	5	LXI, 2	32	LXXXII, 2	116	XCI, 2	49
LII, 1	82	LXII, 1	85	LXXXII, 3	117	XCI, 3	54
LII, 2	81	LXII, 2	36	LXXXII, 4	115	XCI, 4	53
LIII, 1	1	LXIII, 1	37	LXXXII, 5	114	XCII, 1	45
LIII, 2	2	LXIII, 2	38	LXXXII, 6	55	XCII, 2	79
LIV, 1	87	LXIII, 3	40	LXXXII, 7	56	XCII, 3	80
LIV, 2	39	LXIV, 1	44	LXXXII, 8	17	XCII, 4	46
LIV, 3	38	LXIV, 2	43	LXXXVII, 2	18	XCII, 5	12
LIV, 4	41	LXV, 1	91	LXXXVII, 3	19	XCIII 68, 69, 76, 121	
LV, 1	8	LXV, 2	89	LXXXVII, 4	21	XCIV, 1	62
LV, 2	6	LXV, 3	90	LXXXVII, 5	13	XCIV, 2	63
LV, 3	7	LXXV 52, 107, 109, 111, 112		LXXXVII, 7	50	XCIV, 3	39
LV, 4	39			LXXXVII, 8	16	XCIV, 4	61
LV, 5	36	LXXVI	100	LXXXVIII, 1	57	XCIV, 5	60
LVI, 1	43	LXXVII	99	LXXXVIII, 2	58	XCV, 1	71
LVI, 2	78	LXXXVIII, 1	93	LXXXVIII, 3	106	XCV, 2	74
LIV, 3	92	LXXXVIII, 2	15	LXXXVIII, 4	47	XCV, 3	70
LVII, 1	10	LXXXVIII, 3	98	LXXXVIII, 5	48	XCV, 4	71
LVII, 2	9	LXXIX, 1	97	LXXXIX	29	XCVI, 1	72
LVII, 3	11	LXXIX, 2	103	XC, 1	24	XCVI, 2	71
LVII, 4	10	LXXIX, 3	104	XC, 2	23	XCVI, 3	73
LVIII, 1	31	LXXX, 1	105	XC, 3	23	XCVI, 4	75
LVIII, 2	30	LXXX, 2	94	XC, 4	28	XCVII, 1	64
LIX, 1	82	LXXX, 3	95	XC, 5	27	XCVII, 2	65
LIX, 2	84	LXXXI, 1	101	XC, 6	26	XCVII, 3	66
LX, 1	81	LXXXI, 2	102	XC, 7	25	XCVII, 4	67



(a) Base of pillar. Early Phase (22)



(b) Drum slab. Middle Phase (49)



Drum slab. Late Phase (100)



(a) Drum slab, Late Phase (93)



(b) Drum slab, Middle Phase (51)



Drum slab, Late Phase (98)



Drum slab. Early Phase (15)



Drum slab, Middle Phase (54)



Drum slab, Middle Phase (53)



(a) Drum pilaster.
Late Phase (110)



(b) Drum pilaster.
Late Phase (107)



(c) Drum pilaster.
Late Phase (111)



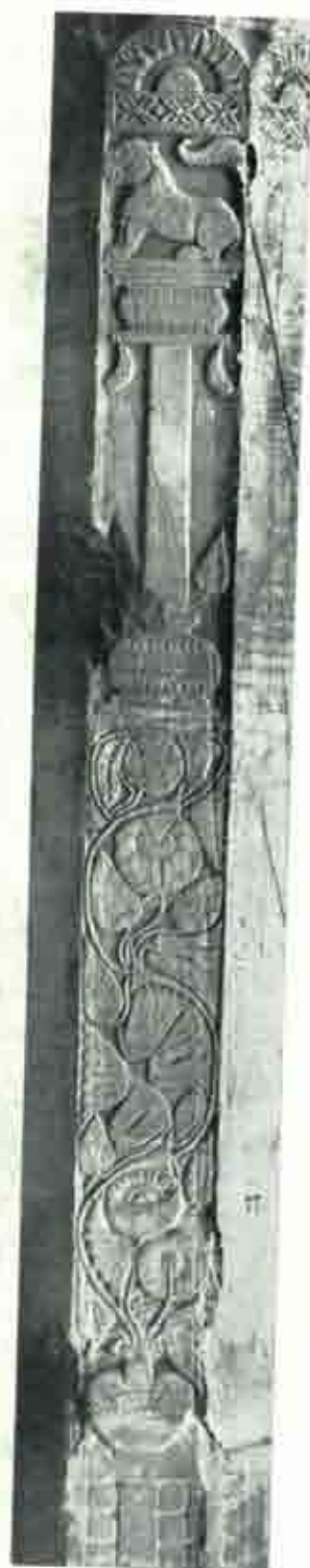
(a) Drum pilaster.
Late Phase (108)



(b) Caitya pillar.
Early Phase (29)



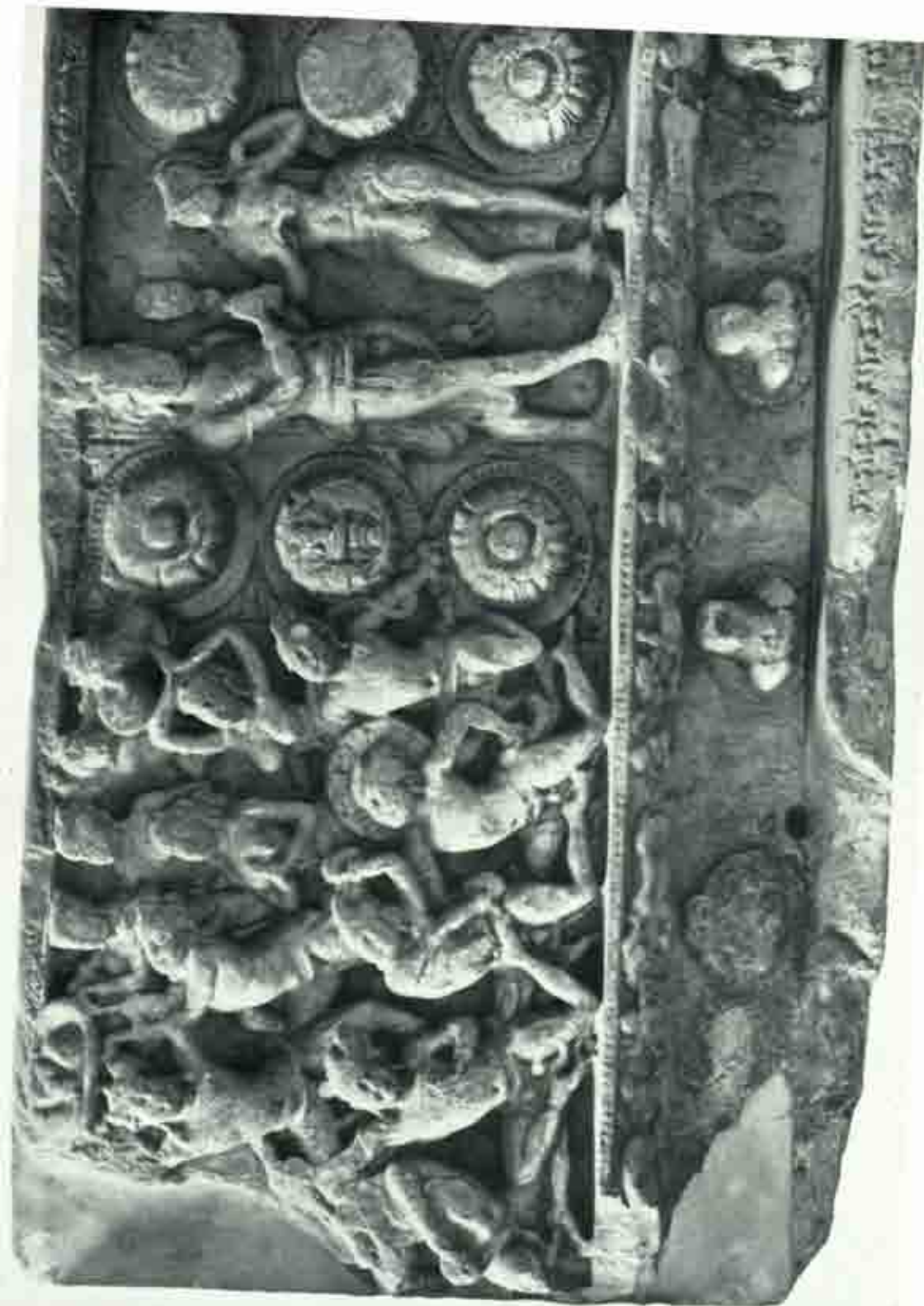
(c) Caitya pillar.
Early Phase (29)



(d) Caitya pillar.
Early Phase (29)



Drum frieze, Late Phase (113)



Drum frieze. Late phase (113)



Devi's figure. Late Phase (118)



Drum frieze, Late Phase (r18)



Drum frieze, Late Phase (118)



(a) Drum frieze, Late Phase (116)



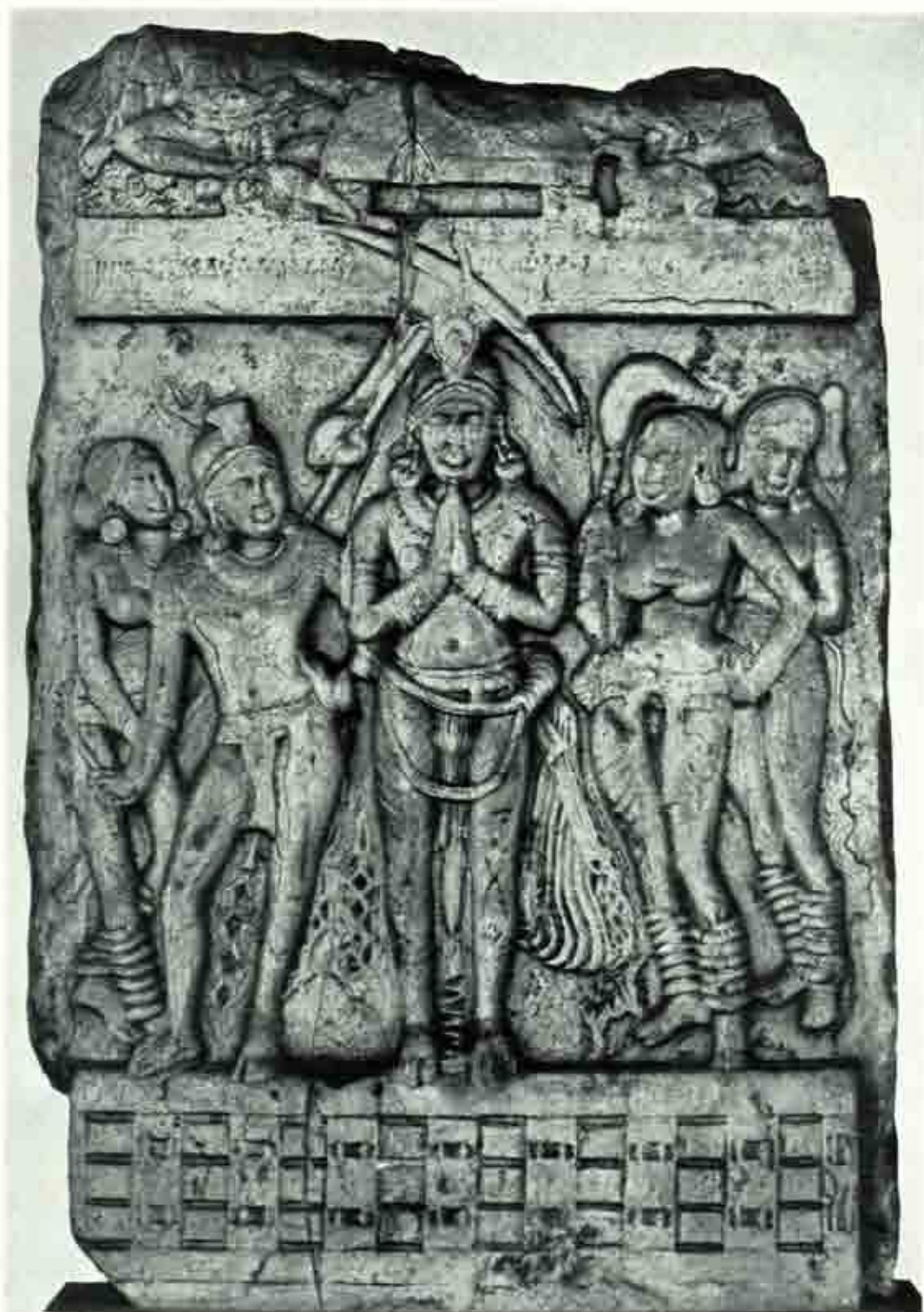
(b) Slab supporting lion, Early Phase (13)



Dome slab, Middle Phase (72)



Dome slab, Middle Phase (71)



Dome slab. Middle Phase (70)



Dome slab, Middle Phase (75)



Dome slab. Middle Phase (65)



(a) Dome slab. Middle Phase (59)



(b) Rail pillar. Early Phase (2)



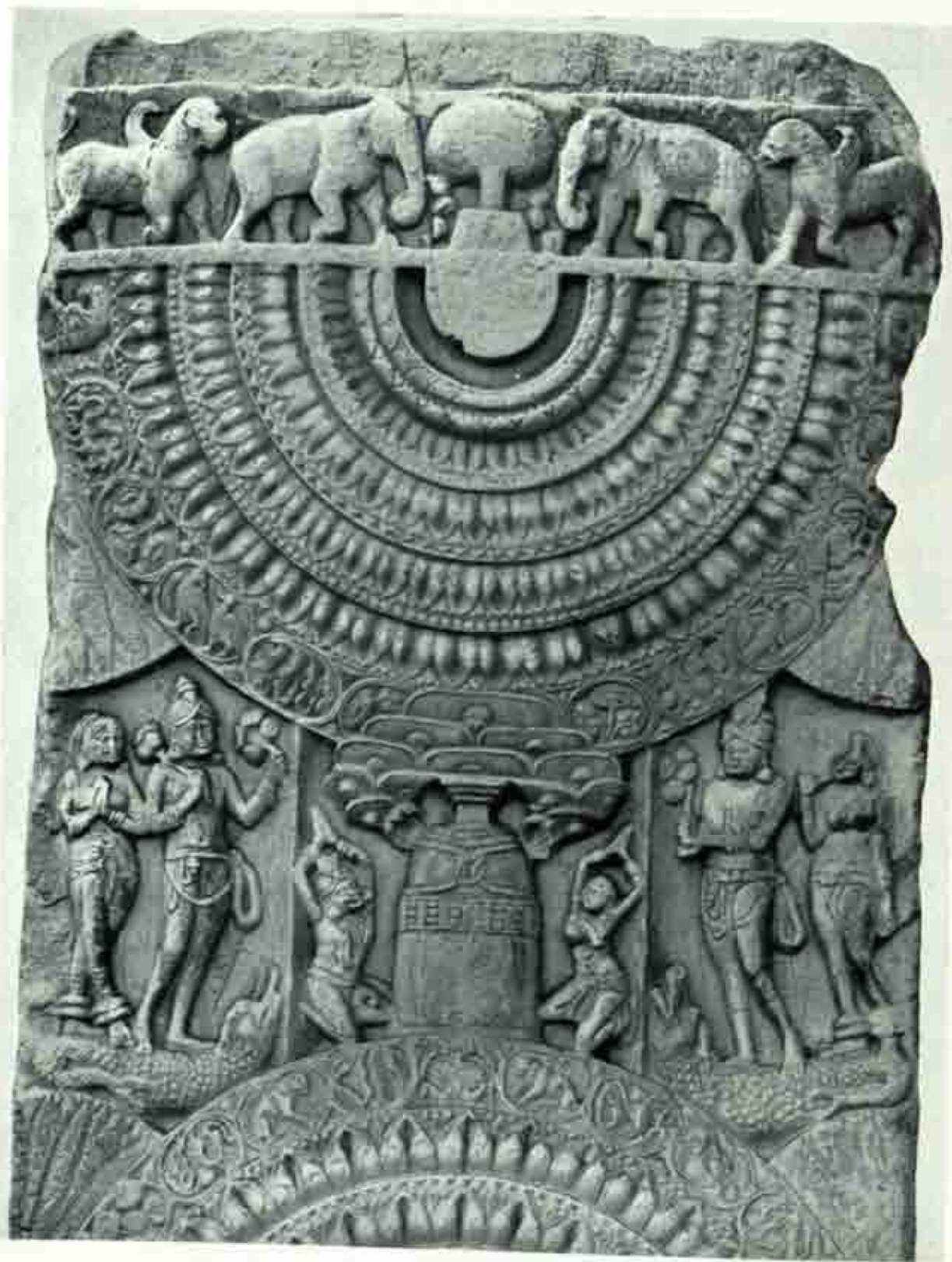
(a) Rail pillar. Middle Phase (30)



(b) Rail pillar. Middle Phase (30)



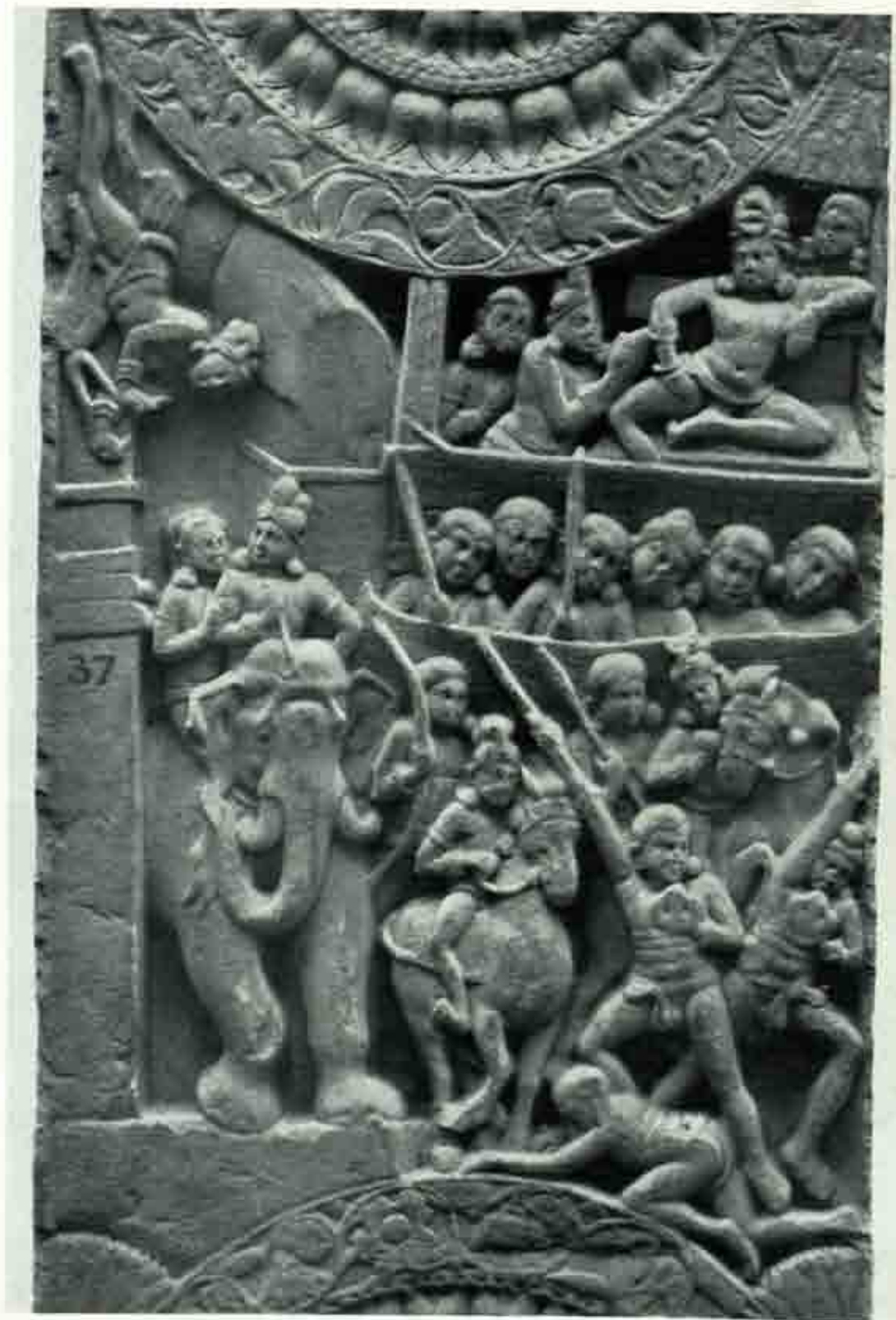
Rail pillar. Middle Phase (30)



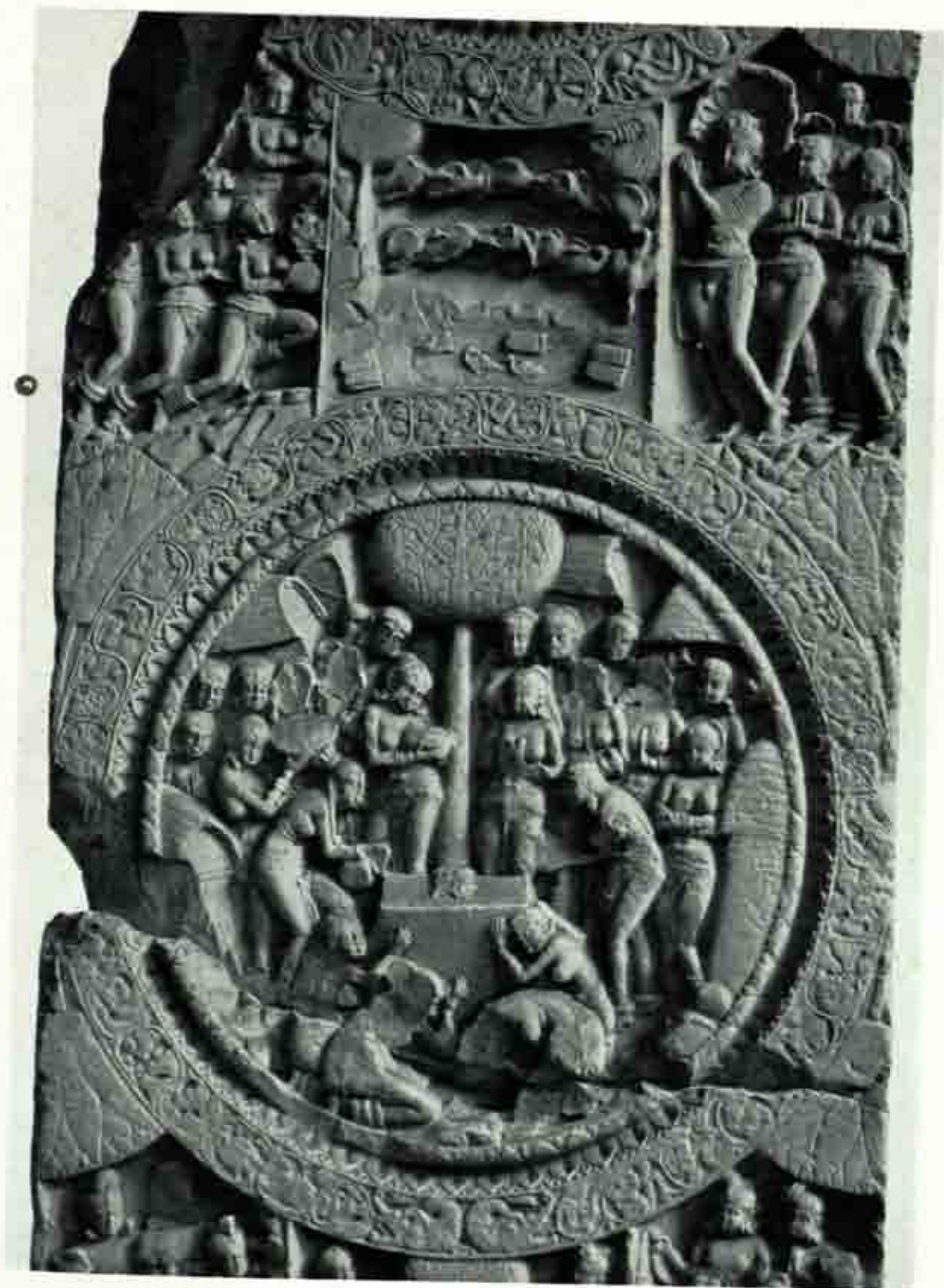
Rail pillar, Middle Phase (30)



Rail pillar, Late Phase (81)



Rail pillar. Middle Phase (33)



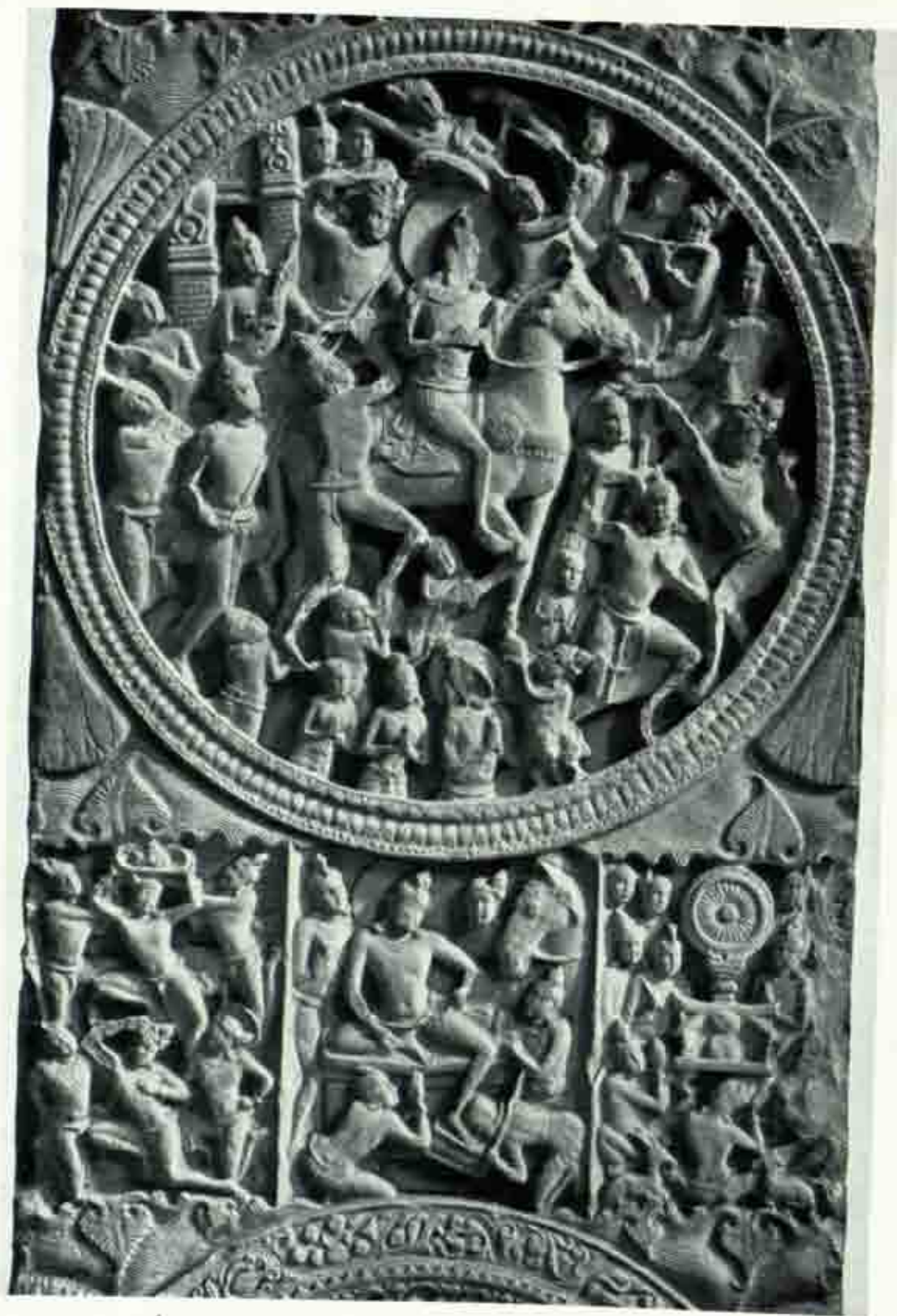
Rail pillar. Middle Phase (30)



Rail pillar, Late Phase (81)



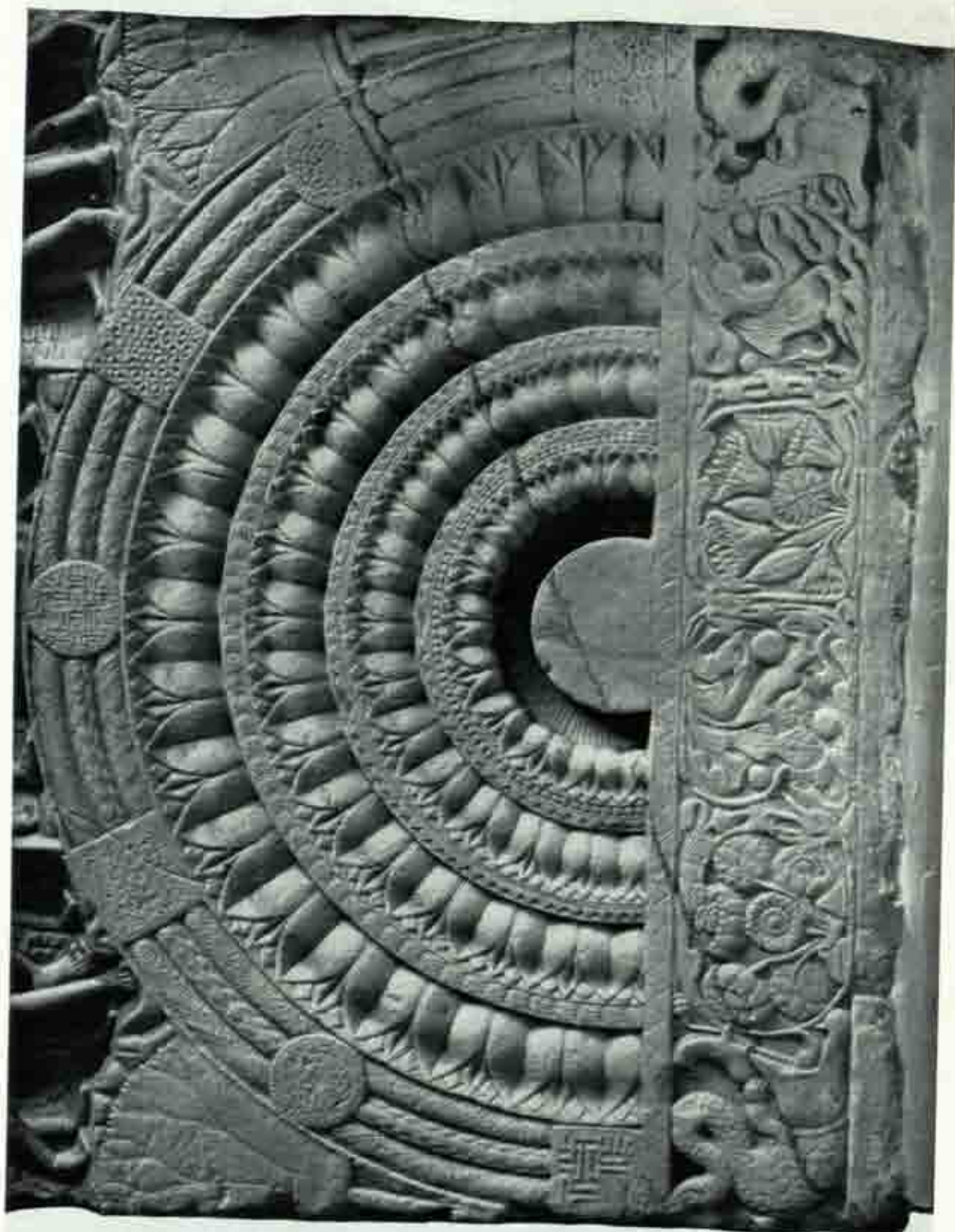
Rail pillar. Late Phase (85)



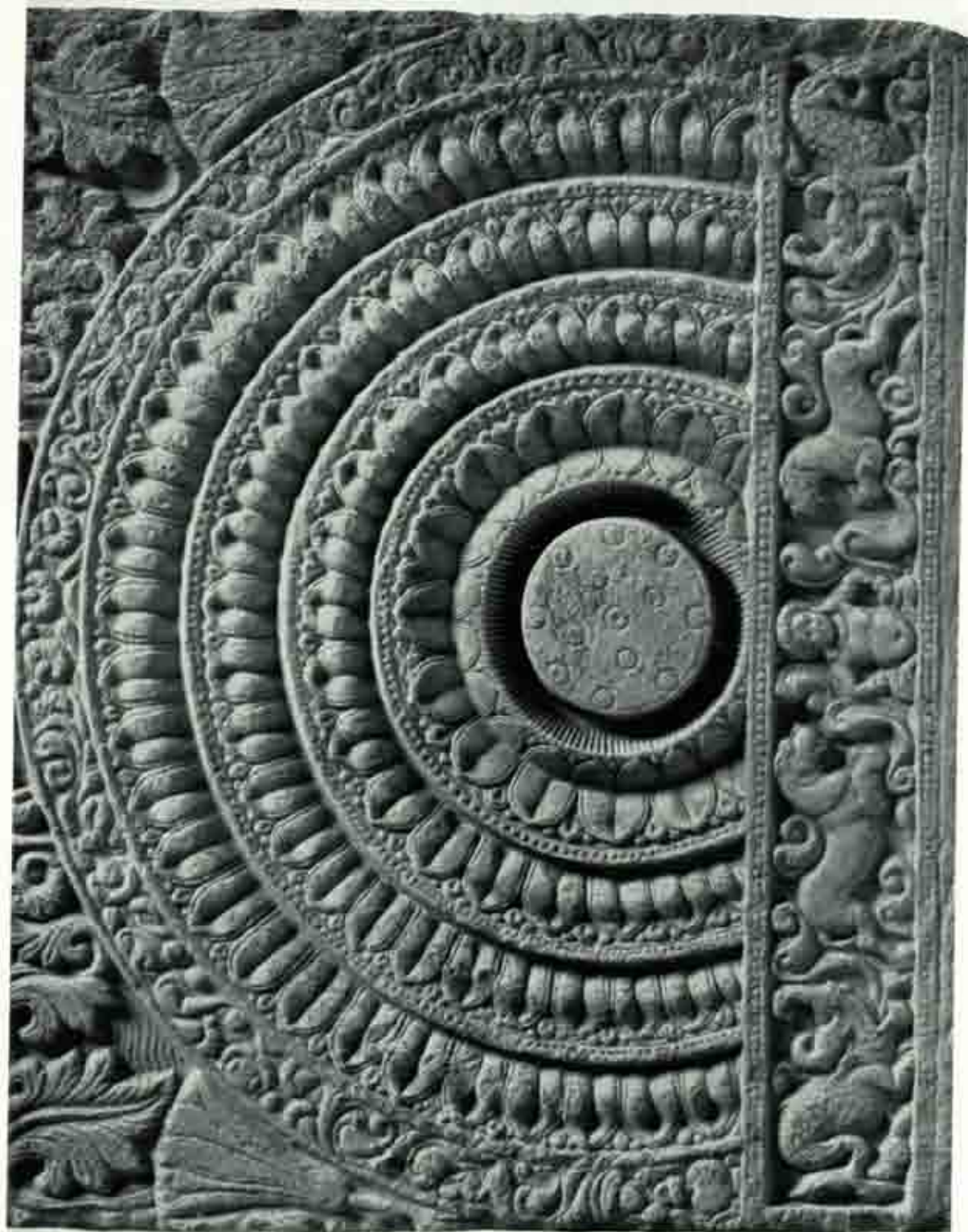
Rail pillar, Late Phase (82)



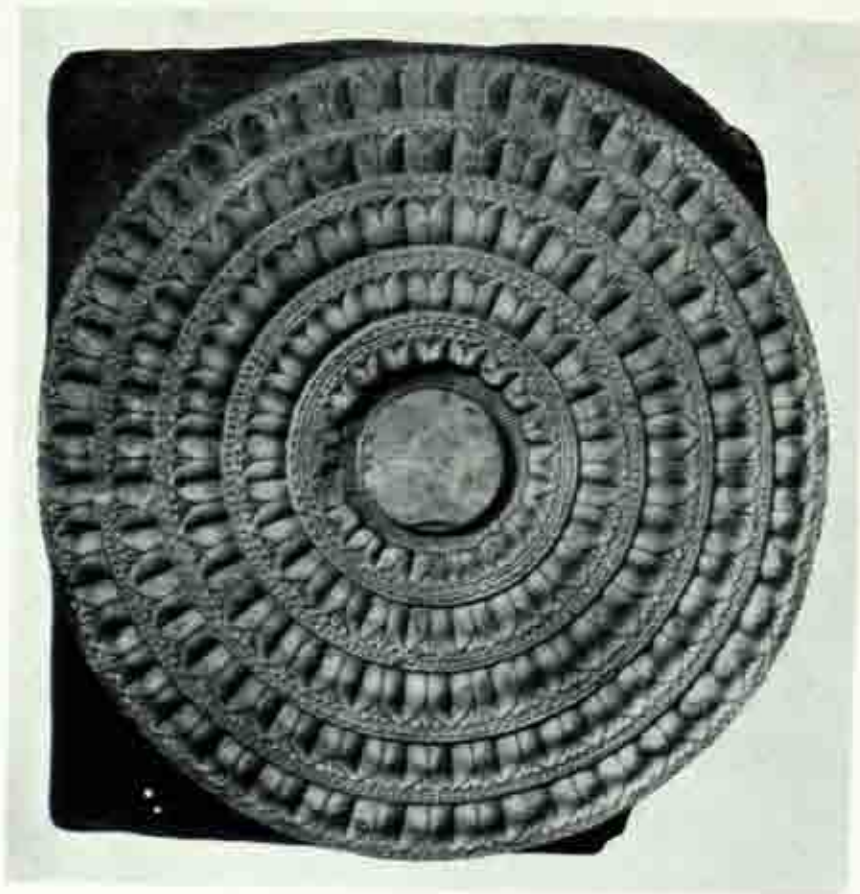
Rail pillar. Late Phase (84)



Rail pillar. Middle Phase (30)



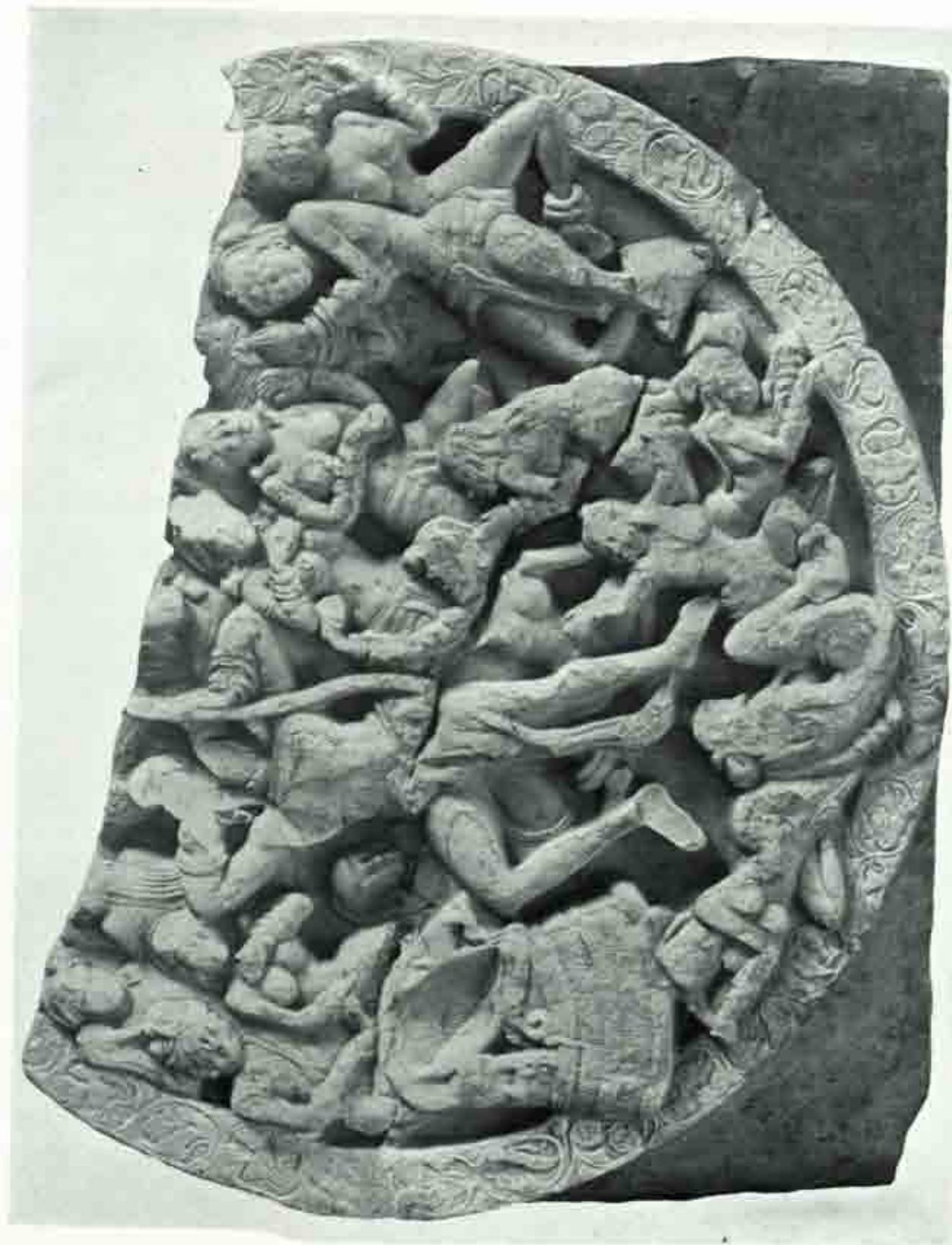
Rail pillar, Late Phase (84)



(a) Rail cross-bar, Middle Phase (41)



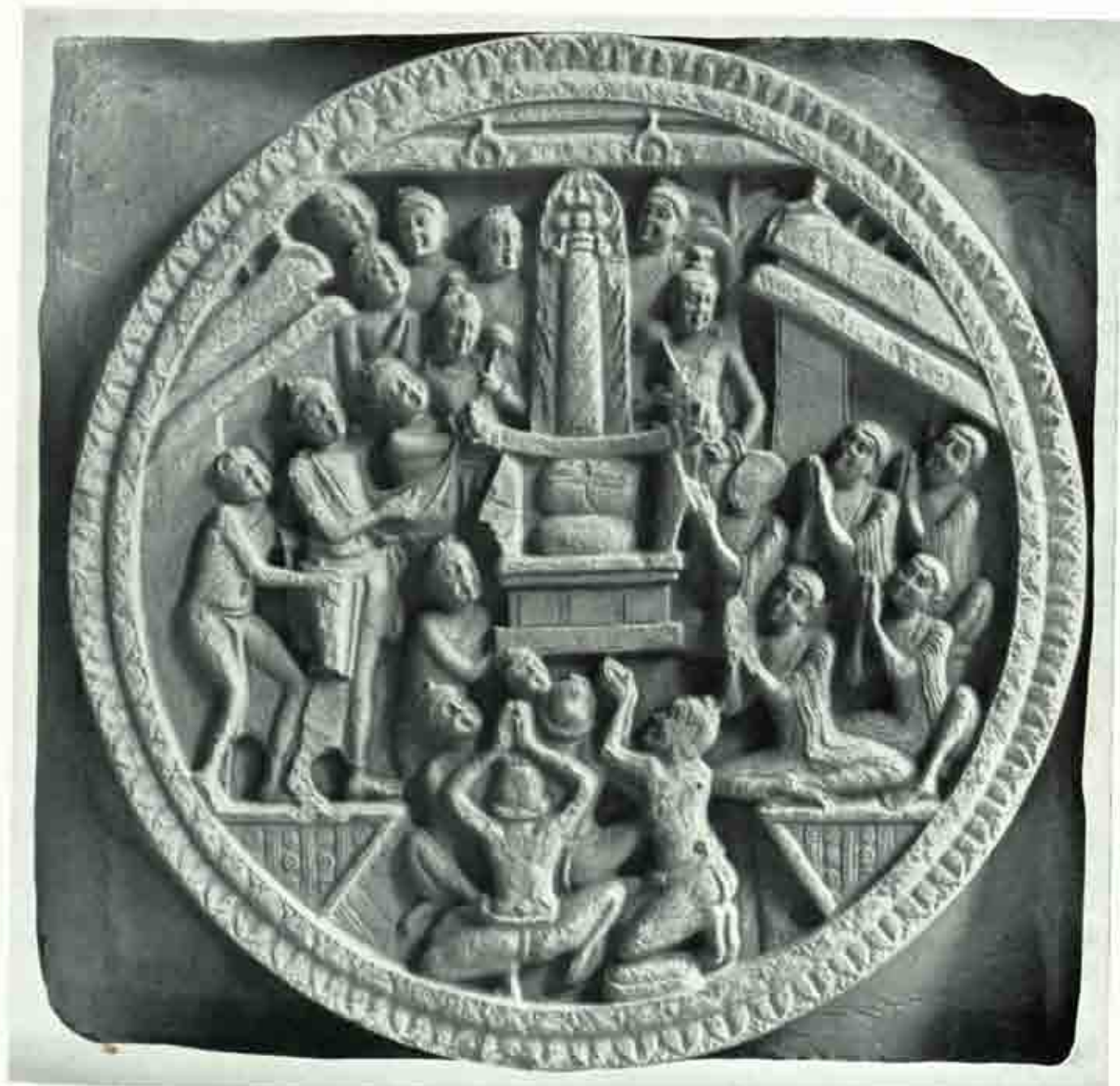
(b) Rail cross-bar, Middle Phase (40)



Rail cross-bar, Middle Phase (37)



Rail cross-bar. Middle Phase (38)



Rail cross-bar, Late Phase (86)



Rail cross-bar, Middle Phase (36)



Rail cross-bar. Late Phase (85)



(a) Rail coping, Early Phase (9)



(b) Rail coping, Early Phase (10)



Rail coping, Early Phase (12)



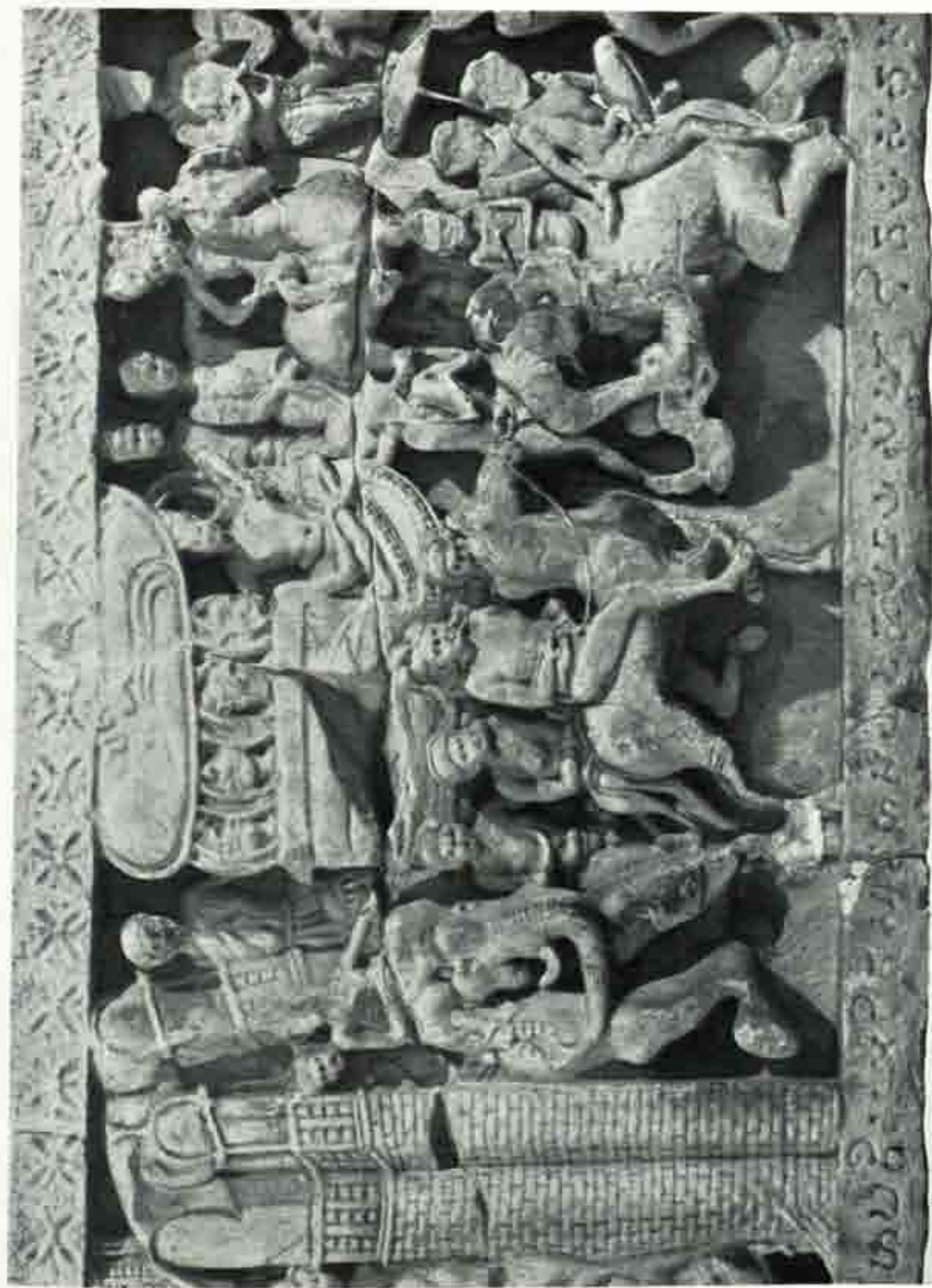
Rail coping, Middle Phase (43)



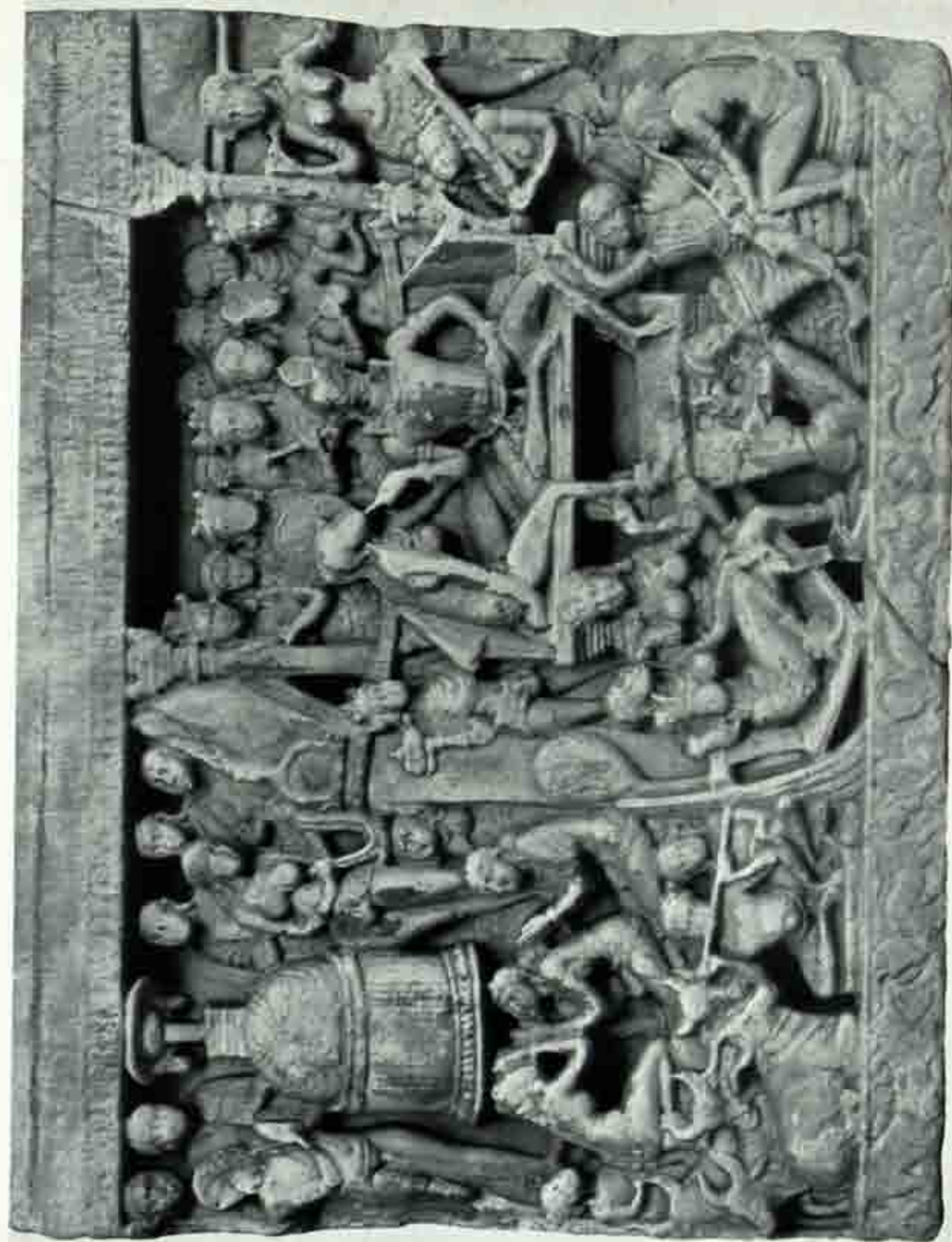
Rail coping, Late Phase (92)



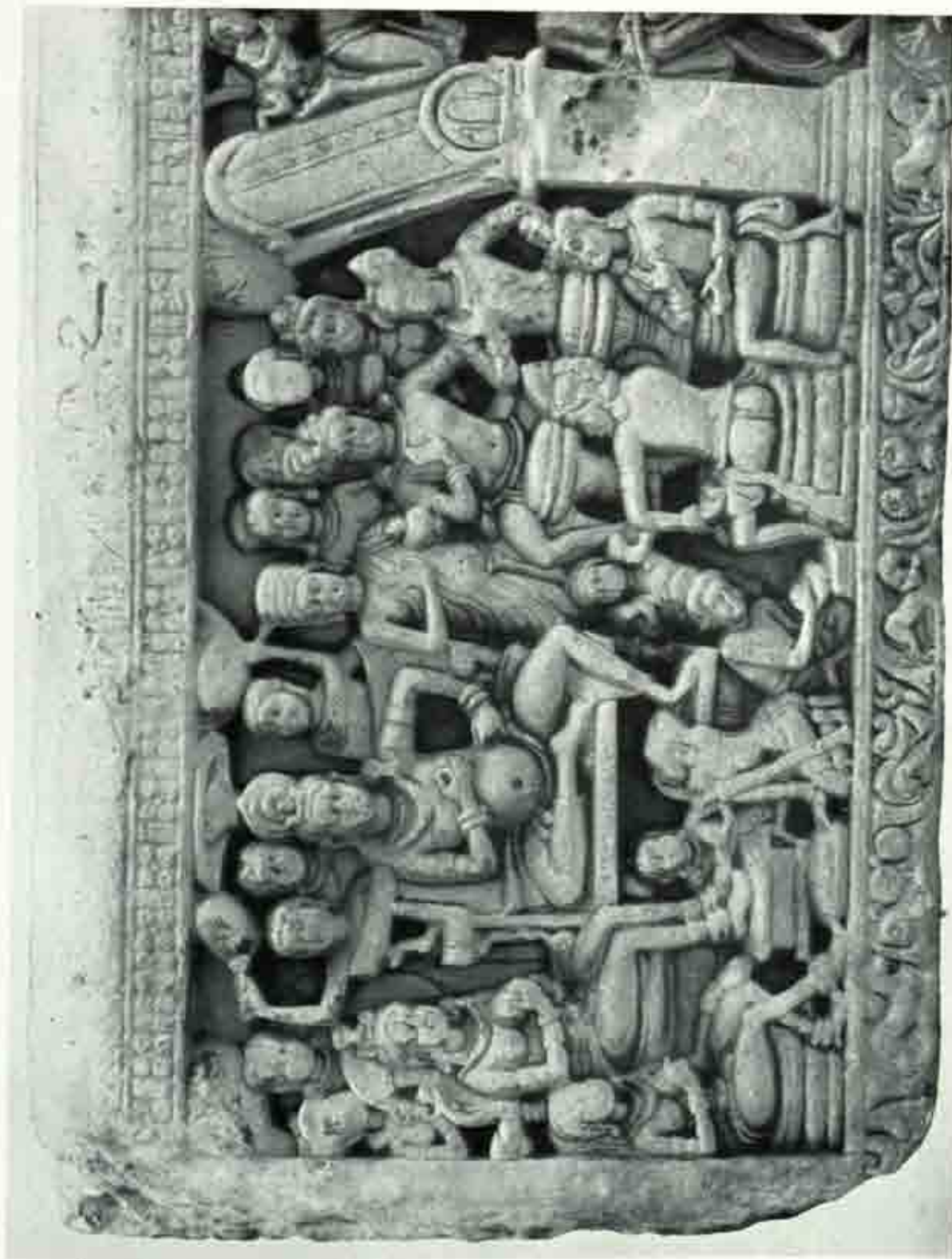
Rail coping Middle Phase (43)



Rail coping, Middle Phase (44)



Rail coping, Late Phase (89)



Rail coping, Late Phase (90)



(a) Pillar. Early Phase (28)



(b) Pillar. Early Phase (26)



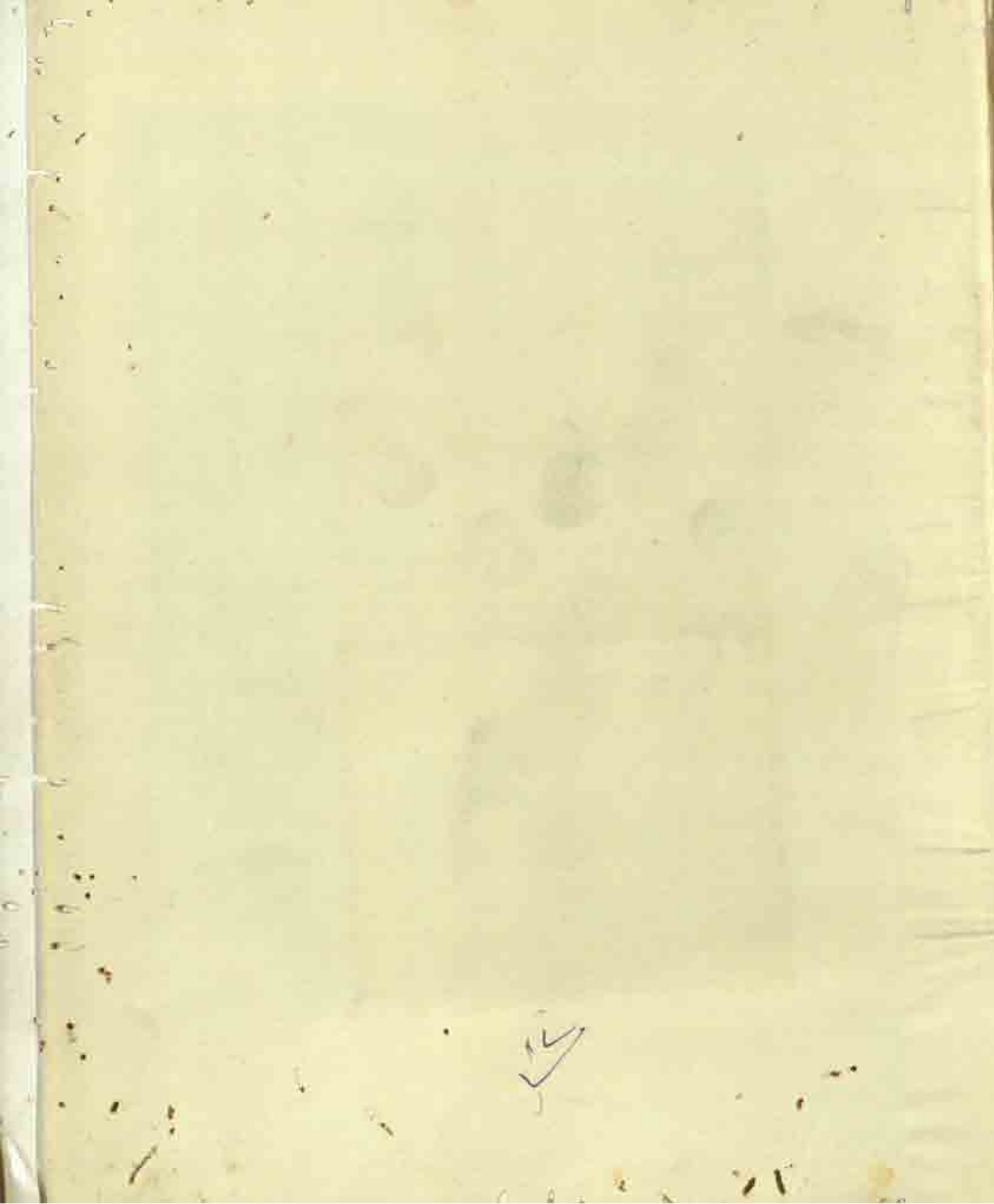
Buddhapāda. Early Phase (20)

XLVIII



Slab supporting lion, Early Phase (13)





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